

PICTORIAL HISTORY
OF THE
MIDDLE AGES,

FROM
THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT TO THE
DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY COLUMBUS.



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THE period of the Middle Ages deserves a distinct consideration in universal history, because it is marked by characteristics widely different from the ages of antiquity or those of modern times. The ancients had their own peculiar institutions, arts, literature, and social condition, which all bear a certain stern and classical aspect, like some antique Egyptian or Grecian temple frowning upon the modern buildings which surround it. When ancient civilization and art were nearly swept from the face of the earth by the barbarian hordes of the north, a new element was infused into the civilization, art, and literature which were to succeed—an element destined to pervade, vivify, and redeem. Constantine the Great, in pronouncing the Roman empire Christian, brought into operation the conservative principle of the Middle Ages. The empire fell, it is true, vanquished by the barbarians; but they, in their turn, yielded to the milder conquest of Christianity, thenceforth to be the ruling power among the nations,

until a new era should come—the modern period, distinguished from antiquity and the Middle Ages by the empire of diplomacy, philosophy, Machiavelism, and capital.

In passing over this middle period in the world's history, one cannot but be struck with the great influence exerted on all temporal affairs, all great movements of the nations, by the Church. The pope humbles emperors; sends millions of crusaders against the infidels; crowns and uncrowns kings; spreads dismay over whole nations by his interdict: blesses the Northman setting out for new conquests; and gives India to King John of Portugal, with one hand, while with the other he bestows the New World upon Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic. Surely, the Middle Ages have their own peculiar political features. Such prodigies as these, the world witnessed at no other period.

In literature and art, too, the Middle Ages have a character all their own. Then commenced the ballad literature, the old heroic songs which each modern nation of Europe has now learned to prize as the foundation of all its best poetry. Then were written those invaluable chronicles which have been the principal means of preserving, for modern historians, the living picture of the times, the very form and pressure of society as it existed in the days of chivalry and romance. Then were sown the seeds of all that is valuable in modern literature. Christianity had already breathed the breath of life into awakening intellect. The shroud of spiritual darkness, which had bound the ancient world, was already cast away. Life and immortality were brought to light; and every subsequent effort of creative intellect was destined to recognise the infinite future, which is the Christian's hope and joy. The history of such a period must necessarily be full of interest.



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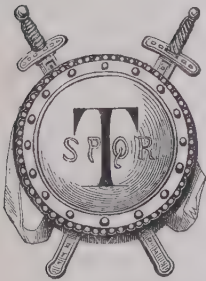


SITE OF ROME.

HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

From the Death of Constantine to the Fall of the Western Empire.



THE period called the Middle Ages may justly be regarded as in many respects the most interesting and instructive in the history of the world. It witnessed the destruction of nearly every institution and art which distinguished the ancient world, and the gradual formation of the social, political, literary, and religious systems which are the pride and boast of modern times. The false notion that this period is to be considered as one of unmitigated darkness and barbarism, is now exploded. The opinion expressed by the liberal and enlightened Schlegel some thirty years since, has now received the sanction of the most able historical writers. In his lectures on the History of Literature, he says: "We

often think of and represent to ourselves the middle age as a blank in the history of the human mind, an empty space between the refinement of antiquity and the illumination of modern times. We are willing to believe that art and science had entirely perished, that their resurrection after a thousand years' sleep may appear something more wonderful and sublime. Here, as in many others of our customary opinions, we are at once false, narrow-sighted, and unjust; we give up substance for gaudiness, and sacrifice truth to *effect*. The fact is, that the substantial part of the knowledge and civilization of antiquity never was forgotten, and that for very many of the best and noblest productions of modern genius, we are entirely obliged to the inventive spirit of the middle age. It is upon the whole extremely doubtful whether those periods which are the most rich in literature, possess the greatest share either of moral excellence or of political happiness. We are well aware that the true and happy age of Roman greatness long preceded that of Roman refinement and Roman authors; and I fear there is but too much reason to suppose that, in the history of the modern nations, we may find many examples of the same kind. But even if we should not at all take into our consideration these higher and more universal standards of the worth and excellence of ages and nations, and although we should entirely confine our attention to literature and intellectual cultivation alone, we ought still, I imagine, to be very far from viewing the period of the middle ages with the fashionable degree of self-satisfaction and contempt.

“If we consider literature in its widest sense, as the voice which gives expression to human intellect—as the aggregate mass of symbols in which the spirit of an age or the character of a nation is shadowed forth; then, indeed, a great and accomplished literature is, without all doubt, the most valuable possession of which any nation can boast. But if we allow ourselves to narrow the meaning of the word literature so as to make it suit the limits of our prejudices, and expect to find in all literatures the same sort of excellencies, and the same sort of forms, we are sinning against the spirit of all philosophy, and manifesting our utter ignorance of all nature. Everywhere, in individuals as in species, in small things as in great, the fulness of invention must precede the refinements of art,—legend must go before history, and poetry before criticism. If the literature of any nation has had no such poetical antiquity before arriving at its period of regular and artificial developement, we may be sure that this literature can never attain to a national shape and character, or come to breathe the spirit of originality and independence. The Greeks possessed such a period of poetical wealth in those ages (ages certainly not very remarkable for their refinement either in literature, properly so called, or in science) which elapsed between the Trojan adventures and the times of Solon and Pericles, and it is to this period that the literature of Greece was mainly indebted for the variety, originality, and beauty of its unrivalled productions. What that period was to Greece, the middle age was to modern Europe; the fulness of creative fancy was the distinguishing characteristic of them both. The long and silent process of vegetation must precede the spring,

and the spring must precede the maturity of the fruit. The youth of individuals has been often called their spring-time of life; I imagine we may speak so of whole nations with the same propriety as of individuals. They also have their seasons of unfolding intellect and mental blossoming. The age of crusades, chivalry, romance, and minstrelsy, was an intellectual spring among all the nations of the west."

In treating this period of history, we commence with the reign of the immediate successors of Constantine the Great, under whose auspices the Roman empire had embraced Christianity, and a new element of political power had sprung into existence, which was destined to become the most striking characteristic of the middle ages.

The tomb had not received the mortal remains of Constantine the Great, when a plot was laid for the destruction of some of the objects of his regard. The great emperor had permitted his unambitious brothers, Julius Constantius, Dalmatius, and Hannibalianus, to enjoy the most honourable rank and the most affluent fortune that could be consistent with a private station. Besides these three brothers, several sisters of the emperor were living in the married state, and ten or twelve males, who would in modern phrase be called princes of the royal family, appeared destined to inherit or support the throne of Constantine. The emperor had been instigated to murder his eldest son, Crispus; and after his death, he invested with the title of Cæsar his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, and the son of Dalmatius, who bore the name of his father. The brother of the young Dalmatius, who was named Hannibalianus, was clothed in a robe of purple and gold, and honoured with the title of *Nobilissimus*. These five young men had all been carefully educated, and fitted both for the fatigues of war and the pursuits of science. The emperor himself instructed them in the art of government, and the knowledge of mankind, and at his death he shared the empire amongst them.* A zealous intrigue was commenced immediately after his death, which resulted in a loud and unanimous declaration of the troops that they would allow none but the sons of the late emperor to reign over the Roman Empire. The fate of the young Dalmatius and his royal brother was suspended until the arrival of Constantius, who governed the East, residing at Constantinople.

The first care of that prince was to remove the apprehensions of his kinsmen by an oath which he pledged for their security: the second to procure a pretext for their murder, at a time when their fears should be allayed. Such a pretext was furnished by the Bishop of Nicomedia; and Constantius caused the murder of his two uncles, seven of his cousins, among whom were the deposed princes, and others who were considered dangerous, either on account of their degree of relationship to Constantine, or because of their wealth and influence.

* Gibbon.

This massacre was followed by a new division of the empire, each of the brothers receiving the title of Augustus. (A. D. 337.) Constantine governed, by a kind of pre-eminence, over his brothers, the new capital of the Empire; Constantius ruled Thrace and the countries of the East; and Constans received Italy, Africa, and Western Illyricum for his portion.

Constantius found his patrimony menaced by Sapor, or Shahpoor, the monarch of Persia, who had splendidly commenced a career of conquest in the East. Dread of the power and genius of Constantine the Great had held him in check; but on the death of that monarch, he poured his troops into Mesopotamia; and for some years, the Roman annals had only to tell of armies defeated and towns captured by the Persian warrior. Constantius met him in a ninth battle, and half gained it; but his soldiers neglected to guard well their camp in the night, and the brave Sapor led his weary troops to a brilliant and decisive victory. Having subsequently failed three times in besieging the important city of Nisibis, he turned his arms against the Massagetæ, who had invaded the regions about the Oxus, and concluded a peace with the emperor. (A. D. 350.)

The three sons of Constantine had already displayed their eagerness after territories which neither of them was able to govern. Constantine was dissatisfied with his share of the spoils of his murdered kinsmen, and he demanded of his brother Constans the cession of Africa. A negotiation followed, in which Constantine became exasperated by the insincerity of his brother, and he suddenly invaded his dominions. But Constans was an able and prudent general; and his plans for the prosecution of the war were well laid and successfully executed. Constantine was surprised, surrounded, and slain, by an ambuscade into which he had been ensnared. (A. D. 340.) His provinces all refused to acknowledge the rule of Constantius; so that the youngest brother now possessed two-thirds of the whole empire. Ten years afterwards, however, he was punished for the murder of his brother by the traitor Magnentius, who revolted and assumed the purple. (A. D. 350.)

The troops in Illyria forced their aged leader, Vetranio, to accept the title of Augustus, and to form an alliance with his fellow-usurper. They proposed terms of accommodation to Constantius, who indignantly rejected those of Magnentius, while he commenced an artful negotiation with the frank and simple Vetranio. In the end that general found that his soldiers had been bought over by the emperor, and he gladly accepted his life and the government of the city of Prusa, in exchange for the dangerous sceptre.

At the head of the united armies, Constantius now marched against the remaining usurper, who was so successful in the commencement of the war, that the haughty emperor offered him peace. But he imprudently continued the struggle, and was defeated in a bloody battle at Mursa. He conducted bravely in the action, and of the fifty-four thousand men that were slain, the greater number fought on the side of Constantius. His army was totally ruined in a defeat near Mount Seleucus, in the following year, and he anticipated the vengeance of his enemies by falling on his own sword. (September 28, 351.)

Constantius, however, sunk in effeminacy and debauchery, and surrounded and governed by eunuchs, was unable alone to sustain the weight of government; he therefore took to his assistance his cousin Gallus, who had hitherto been a state prisoner, and whose father he had previously slain. Gallus was created Cæsar, and sent into the East to defend that quarter of the empire from its enemies. The new Cæsar was in every way unfit to rule. Brought from his prison to a throne, he gave way to his naturally violent and tyrannical temper. By the instigation of his wife Constantina, he retaliated upon his courtiers and subjects the injuries he had himself experienced: thus depriving himself of the affections of the people, and furnishing a pretext for his destruction to the emperor, who could not abide a rival even in cruelty.



Constantius, thinking that he would become dangerous, recalled him, deprived him of his dignity, and caused him to be banished to Pola, in Istria, where he was secretly beheaded. (December, 354.)

His brother Julian, from whom the suspicious Constantius believed he had nothing to fear, was promoted in his place, created Cæsar, and sent to defend the frontiers on the Rhine. Although Julian passed suddenly from the

quiet pursuits of study to the toils and dangers of war, he not only fought the Germans with success, but also made a deep inroad into their country. Cæsar crossed the Rhine twice; but Julian crossed over that river three times, and on each invasion his arms were attended with signal success.

The emperor meanly claimed for himself the honours won by his unaided lieutenant. His generals had been beaten by the Persians, and he was preparing an expedition to chastise that enemy under his own direction. This circumstance afforded a pretext for withdrawing the troops from Gaul, and leaving Julian to certain destruction. But most of the soldiers had stipulated on entering the service that they should not be taken from their native country beyond the Alps, and the faith of Rome and the honour of Julian had been pledged for the observance of this condition. The commands of the emperor, however, were so explicit, that the Cæsar could only obey. He endeavoured to alleviate the sufferings of the oppressed soldiers by granting a sufficient number of post wagons to transport their wives and families; but the grief of the army became changed into rage against its cause; they loved Julian and hated Constantius; they called to mind the virtues of the one and the vices of the other; they listened in profound silence to the charge of the Cæsar to conduct themselves with honour in the service of the emperor; they retired from his presence to indulge in licentious festivities; which were ended by the forcible seizure of Julian, who was guarded with drawn swords through the streets of Paris, and saluted as emperor.

Julian opposed their wishes at first, but accepted the empire when they declared that he must either reign or die.* (A.D. 361.) On the next day he assembled the troops and informed them that if the emperor of the East would acknowledge him, they should remain quiet in Gaul. He wrote to Constantius, excusing what had occurred, and requiring the confirmation of his dignity, but offering to acknowledge the supremacy of the elder emperor, and to supply him annually with Spanish horses and barbarian recruits. While waiting for the result of this application to his cousin, Julian strengthened his army. Before commencing the civil war, he crossed the Rhine a fourth and a fifth time, and forced the Germans to make peace.

Constantius returned a haughty answer to the letter of Julian, charging the Cæsar with ingratitude, and requiring him to renounce his usurped title, and accept a pardon on certain conditions. The charge of ingratitude aroused the resentment of Julian, who had been engaged for more than twenty years in constant dissimulations, that he might save his life from the jealousy and fears of the murderer of his father and his brother. He had a few weeks before celebrated publicly the Christian festival of the Epiphany; but he now as publicly renounced the religion and friendship of Constantius, by committing the care of his safety to the heathen gods. From this circumstance, he was

* Gibbon.

afterwards called the Apostate. The Gauls, who had revolted from Constantius when he required them to leave their native province, now took an oath to follow Julian wherever he should lead them, were it even to the ends of the earth.

Julian was well aware of the importance of activity in the commencement of the anticipated struggle. He divided his army into three parts, at the head of one of which he plunged into the Black Forest, reached the Danube, and passed down that river in boats. By this movement he succeeded in capturing the important city of Sirmium, where he was joined by the other division of his army. He then seized the pass of Succus, in Mount Hæmus, which separates the provinces of Thrace and Dacia. Constantius left the prosecution of the war with the Persians, to combat for the throne. But on his way he was attacked by a fever, and died at the little town of Mopsucrenæ, in the forty-fifth year of his age.*

Julian the Apostate began his reign with the reformation of the luxurious habits of the court. His abjuration of the dominant religion, which he wished gradually to annihilate, was an error in policy which he must have discovered to his cost, had his reign been prolonged. But though he gave a preference to his fellow-believers, in civil and military employments, and forbade the Christians from becoming schoolmasters, he proclaimed a general toleration; the pagans were obliged to open their temples and offer victims, and the different sects of Christians were commanded to abstain from harassing and tormenting each other.

Julian might now have indulged his philosophic disposition to an unlimited extent; but he had been smitten with a thirst for military renown, and aspired to the conquest of the East. He refused peace to Sapor, and marched into Asia at the head of a formidable army. He was at first successful; but he allowed himself to be misled by a deserter, was surrounded by Sapor, and fell mortally wounded, three years after his accession to the throne. (June 26, A.D. 353.)

Jovian, a fervent Christian, now assumed the purple, with the consent of the officers and soldiers. He endeavoured to effect a retreat, but the persevering energy of the Persians prevented him from advancing further than Dura, a hundred miles from the province of Corduene. Jovian there concluded a treaty of peace with Sapor, by which he restored to the Persians all the territory that had been conquered from them since the year 297. By this treaty the five provinces beyond the Tigris, with the cities of Nisibis, Singara, and the Moor's camp, were given up, and a truce was concluded for thirty years. The emperor who made this most inglorious treaty, the first by which the Roman empire had abandoned conquered territory to an enemy, did not long survive his disgrace. Whilst hastening towards the capital, he

* Gibbon—Keightley—Heeren.

was one morning found dead in his bed, at Dadastana, a little town on the frontiers of Bithynia. He was but thirty-three years old, and had only reigned eight months. Of the many causes which are assigned for his death, the most probable is that which ascribes it to his having slept near a large charcoal fire in a newly-plastered room.*

The army proclaimed Valentinian at Nice in his stead, and almost immediately forced him to nominate a colleague. He chose his brother Valens, and assigned him the eastern prefecture of the empire, reserving to himself the government of the West. In the year 367, he created his son Gratian Augustus with himself. Though he was in many respects a cruel prince, the reign of Valentinian is distinguished for the religious toleration which he maintained. His brother Valens having adopted the opinion of the Arians, was not very popular in the East, a circumstance of which Procopius took advantage to instigate the people to an insurrection. It was quelled with some difficulty, and its leader slain.

Meanwhile the Allemanni had been engaged in war with Valentinian, who, after triumphing over them, resolved to provide for the future defence of Gaul by constructing a chain of forts and castles, along the banks of the Rhine, from its source to the ocean.

The houses of the ancient Gauls were generally round and spacious, founded on stone, and constructed of wood and earth. They were supported by posts, protected by hurdles, and covered with a conical roof, either thatched or made with straw worked with clay. The light was admitted by a narrow door, and by still narrower loopholes. A hole cut in the roof gave passage to the smoke of the hearth, which was constructed of three stones united at right angles. The population scattered through the country rushed at the cry of war to shut themselves up with their herds and moveable property in vast enclosures, formed by trees felled in the middle of woods or marshes. The habitations of the chiefs were little fortresses, defended by rocks, by the seacoast, the course of a river, or an impenetrable marsh.

The villages were open, or defended by simple trenches filled with fascines. Some were surrounded with walls, and fortified by a collection of stones, beams, and earth, which added variety to the symmetrical appearance, and resisted alike the assaults of the battering ram and the approaches of fire. The capital cities of Armorica were doubtless fortified in this manner; the rest of the country had no cities, properly so called.

All the Gauls were soldiers. Each mother made her new-born child kiss the naked sword of its father. This was the infant's baptism. From time to time the chief of each village measured the young men with a girdle, and those whom intemperate or idle habits had rendered corpulent, were heavily fined. Foreign expeditions were made by enlisting able-bodied men; but when

* Gibbon—Keightley.



VILLAGE OF THE ANCIENT GAULS.

their own country was invaded, every man was required to arm in her defence. Treachery or cowardice in this respect was punished by the loss of the nose, ears, or eyes of the offender.

As soldiers, the Gauls were characterized by courage and impetuosity; but their wild and intractable disposition rendered them impatient of military discipline. Among their most formidable enemies were the invaders of their sea coast.

The pirates of the north, united under the name of Saxons, now infested the coasts of Britain and Gaul. Severus, the master of the infantry, marched against them, and by a dishonourable breach of a newly-made treaty, succeeded in cutting a large body of them to pieces.

In Britain, the Picts and Scots, from the northern parts of the island, were pouring their savage hordes into the defenceless provinces, and spreading desolation far and wide. The Spanish Count Theodosius was sent against them with success. He then returned and directed the operations against the Allemanni, until the emperor was forced to despatch him to Africa, to quell a revolt. A Moorish prince, named Firmus, was in arms against the Roman governor, Romanus, who had exercised his power with the greatest tyranny (A. D. 372.) Theodosius first committed him to safe custody, and then reduced Firmus to the last extremity. To prevent being captured, the African prince embraced a voluntary death. By bribery and forgeries, the

guilty Romanus escaped punishment, whilst the brave and virtuous Theodosius was seized and beheaded at Carthage by the successor of Valentinian, on the vague suspicion that he was become too powerful for a subject. (A.D. 376.)*

During the war in Africa, the Emperor Valentinian was himself engaged in the prosecution of hostilities against the Quadans and Sarmatians. He died in consequence of the bursting of a blood-vessel, while passionately reproaching the envoys of the Quadans, who sought peace in the most humble manner. At the time of his death, his son Gratian, who was seventeen years of age, resided at Treves. Merobandes and Equitius, two officers of rank, took advantage of his absence to increase the number of the emperors. Valentinian, aged four years, the young son of the late emperor, was brought to the camp and invested with the purple. Gratian accepted his young colleague, and acted towards him the part of a brother and a guardian. (A.D. 375.)

Valens now found himself obliged to take the field against a formidable enemy, the Huns, whose entrance into Europe gave rise to the great popular migration, by which the Roman empire in the West may be said to have been overthrown. The immediate consequence was the admission of the greater part of the Visigoths into the Roman empire. This occasioned a war, which cost the Emperor Valens his life.

The Huns, who were a nomad people of Asia, belonged to the great Mongolian race. Their history can be traced back to about 209 B.C., when the Chinese built the great wall to resist their inroads. The Huns were afterwards masters of Mongolia, and the greatest part of the north of Asia, as far as the Caspian Sea, and the borders of Thibet.

The Chinese were for centuries their most formidable enemies, and finally succeeded in driving them towards the West. In the reign of Augustus, they were settled near the Caspian Sea, with the Alans on the south-west, and occupied the frontiers of the Roman empire; while spreading to the north and south, they still carried on wars with the Chinese. But when the To-pa or To-ten, who dwelt on the river Amour, spread themselves on the west of China, and drove the Sienpi from their possessions, at the beginning of the fourth century, the Huns again pressed to the Caspian Sea and Pontus Euxinus. After a bloody struggle with the Moors, they united with them to pass the Pontus Euxinus, and attack the Goths, (376,) and thus ultimately produced the general irruption of the barbarians into the Roman empire, as will be seen in the sequel.

The Goths, divided into Ostrogoths and Visigoths, were separated from each other by the Dnieper. The Ostrogoths were either reduced to submission or driven from their country. The bravest portion, with their infant sovereign, Witheric, penetrated to the Dniester, on whose banks Athanaric, the judge or ruler of the Visigoths, had determined to defend himself. But he was com-

* Keightley.

pelled to retire to the hills, where the greater part of his people lost their courage and compelled their two other judges, Fritigern and Alavivus, to lead them to the Danube and implore a refuge in the Roman empire. Valens granted them a settlement within the bounds of the empire, on condition that they should deliver up their arms before passing the river. But the barbarians eluded this condition by sacrificing their wealth and their women to the avarice and lust of the Roman officers; and a powerful Gothic army was soon encamped on the hills and plains of Lower Mœsia. (A. D. 376.)*

Such a formidable host should have been delicately managed; but Lupicinus and Maximus, the governors of the province, thought only of indulging their avarice, and by furnishing to them the most loathsome food at the highest prices, they drew from them all their property and most of their children. Their patience became thus exhausted, and the governors, terrified at their menaces, collected all the troops at their command into an army about their own persons. Thus the troops were drawn away from the Danube, and the Ostrogoths, who had been denied the privilege granted to their predecessors, seized the opportunity and crossed the Danube. The Visigoths, in compliance with the commands of the Roman general, advanced to Marcianopolis, seventy miles inland, where they were denied a market. Difficulties ensued, which resulted in a pitched battle, in which the Romans were totally defeated. In revenge for their former sufferings, the Goths perpetrated enormities of every kind upon the unhappy people who fell into their hands. A large Roman army was sent against them, and a battle which lasted from dawn till dusk was fought, without material advantage on either side. The Romans then fortified their lines, intending to confine the enemy to the position they occupied, till they should be reduced by the sure operation of famine. But they were surprised by the intelligence that the Visigoths had formed an alliance with the Ostrogoths, who were advancing to their aid, having, in addition to their own force, a considerable body of Huns and Alans, marshalled under their banners. Fearful of being surrounded, the Romans raised the siege of the Gothic camp, and their enemies rapidly spread devastation to the shores of the Hellespont.

Valens had early sought the aid of his nephew Gratian, and that emperor was preparing to lead the forces of the West against the Goths, when the Allemanni, probably acting in concert with the Goths, crossed the Rhine, forty thousand strong. Gratian gave them battle at Colmar, in Alsace: their king was slain, and their entire host, save five thousand, cut to pieces. The gallant young emperor then invaded their country, and forced them to sue for peace. Meanwhile Valens had set out from Constantinople to take the command in person; and his flatterers urged him to lose no time in bringing the war to a close by a decisive action, before Gratian could arrive to share

* Gibbon.

in the glory of the victory. This was precisely what Fritigern wished, and he secured its adoption by a stratagem similar to that practised by Themistocles at Salamis. The emperor was but too successfully deceived. The Goths amused him with fruitless negotiations until their reinforcements had arrived, and then inflicted on his army a more terrible defeat than any the Roman arms had experienced since the day of Cannæ. Scarcely a third part of the army escaped from the field. The counts Trajan, Sebastian, Valerian, and Equitius, with thirty-six other officers of rank, were among the slain. (A. D. 378.)

The fate of the emperor is uncertain: some accounts make him to have fallen at nightfall, mortally wounded, amid heaps of the common soldiers; others say that when he fell he was carried into a neighbouring cottage, where his attendants were surrounded by the enemy while attempting to dress his wound. Straw and wood were heaped against the doors, and the house was burned, with all therein, except one soldier, who escaped out of a window, and survived to tell the story. The Goths having failed in an attack upon the walls of Adrianople, retired with their booty to the northern provinces, and spread their ravages as far as the Adriatic.*

Gratian was on the march to aid his uncle, when he heard of the victory of the Goths. He saw the necessity of selecting a colleague who could take charge of the East. His choice fell upon Theodosius, the son of the general of that name who had been put to death in Africa. Theodosius was invested with the purple at Sirmium, A. D. 379, and he immediately resorted to a Fabian policy, by which, in the course of four years, the army of Athanaric was added to the number of his own troops, and the victors of Adrianople became subjects of the empire.†

Gratian, when death had removed the able advisers with whom his father had surrounded him, fell under the guidance of men of a different character. In consequence, he gradually lost the esteem of both the people and the army. When Maximus, having been proclaimed emperor by the revolted troops in Britain, crossed over to Gaul, Gratian suddenly found all the troops of Gaul opposed to him, and the gates of all the cities shut against him. He was slain near Lyons, as he was rising from the supper-table, August 25th, 383, and his brother Valentinian petitioned in vain for his body. By promising not to interfere with the young Valentinian, Maximus procured an acknowledgment of his title to the empire from Theodosius, who probably feared an invasion of the barbarians, should he attempt to avenge the murder of his patron.‡

The new emperor remained at rest for four years, but he finally began to cast an eye of cupidity upon the possessions of Valentinian, whom he nearly succeeded in capturing. The young prince fled with his mother and his sister Galla to seek aid from the emperor of the East, and an alliance

* Keightley. Gibbon. Taylor.

† Keightley.

‡ Ib. Heeren.

was concluded between the two princes, which was sealed by the marriage of Galla with Theodosius.

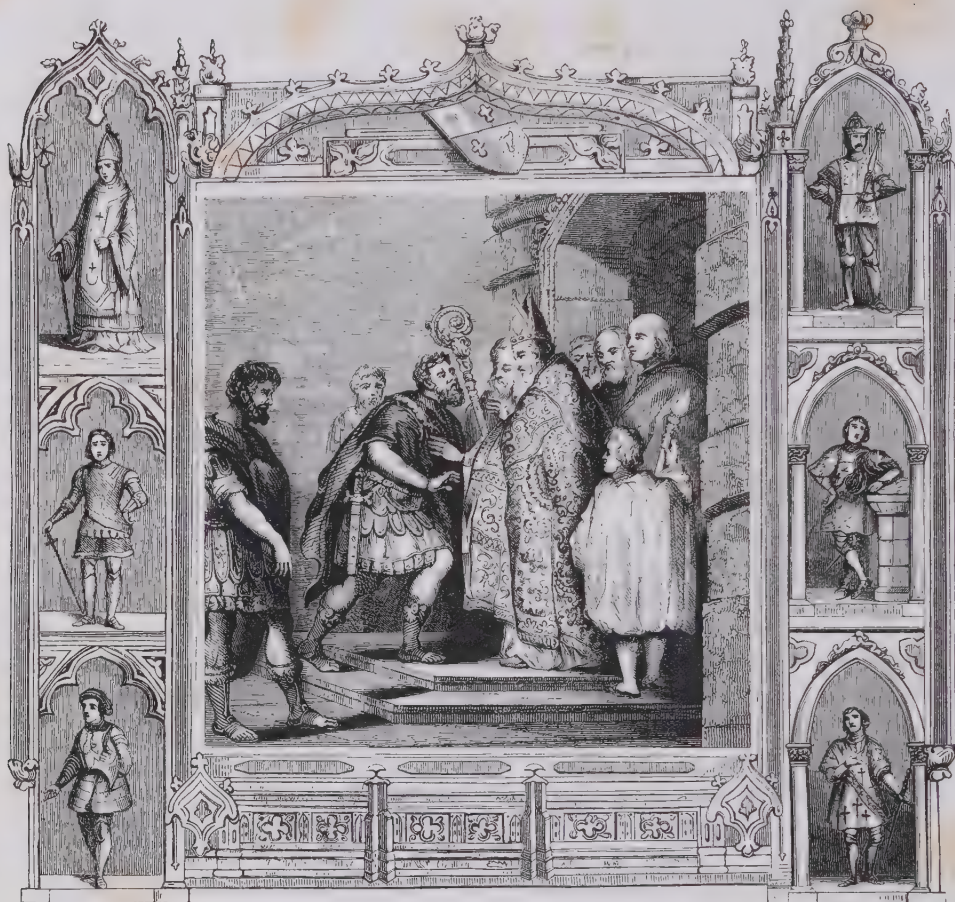
The royal bridegroom then set out to seek the forces of the usurper and traitor. Maximus was routed at Siscia, on the banks of the Save, and captured and beheaded at Aquileia. His son was also put to death, and the whole of the West became subject to the rule of the young Valentinian. (A.D. 388.)

Theodosius remained in Italy for three years after his victory, regulating the affairs of the empire for his colleague. While he was there, the people of Thessalonica, becoming enraged at the conduct of Botheric, the commander of the garrison, murdered him and his principal officers, and dragged their bodies about the streets. (A.D. 388.) Theodosius gave way to his naturally choleric temper, on learning the insult thus offered to his servant. He gave orders for a military execution, and afterwards attempted to recall it, but it was too late. The Thessalonians were invited to the circus, to witness the games: they came to the number of seven thousand. (A.D. 390.) The signal was given, the soldiers commenced the work of massacre, and all were slain. Ambrose was at this time Archbishop of Milan, and the part which he took on that occasion shows the height to which ecclesiastical power had already attained. He wrote to the emperor that he had been warned in a vision not to offer the oblation in his name or presence, and advised him not to think of receiving the Eucharist with blood-stained hands. The intrepid bishop refused him admittance to the cathedral, and the lord of the Roman world was obliged to lay aside his imperial robe, and appear in the posture of a suppliant in the midst of the church of Milan, soliciting with tears the pardon of his sin. He was not restored to the communion of the faithful until he had accomplished a penance of eight months.*

The troops of Valentinian were commanded by Count Arbogast, a Frank, who had held a high rank in the service of both Gratian and Theodosius. When the departure of the eastern emperor had removed the principal obstacle, he resolved to take advantage of the weakness of the young prince, and raise himself to the empire. He corrupted the army, filled the offices with his creatures, and made the emperor little better than a prisoner in his palace at Vienne. Valentinian wrote to inform Theodosius of his situation; but, impatient of delay, he sent for Arbogast, and dismissed him from his post. "You have not given me my authority, and you cannot take it away," said the general, and he indignantly tore up the document containing his dismissal. The prince snatched a sword from one of the guards, but he was not suffered to use it. A few days after he was privately strangled, and a report was spread that he had died by his own hand. (May 15th, A.D. 392.)

Arbogast, not yet prepared to assume the purple himself, clothed Euge-

* Keightley.



THEODOSIUS AND ST. AMBROSE.

nus, one of his own creatures, with it; and sent an embassy to Theodosius, lamenting the decease of Valentinian, and beseeching him to ratify the choice of his successor, already made by the people and the army. But the tears of his lovely bride Galla induced Theodosius to avenge his brother-in-law, and he marched for Italy, after two years consumed in preparation. Eugenius was taken and put to death (Sept. 6th, 314); the more wicked Arbogast avoided a similar fate by committing suicide, after wandering some days through the mountains.*

Theodosius survived his victory only five months. He had undermined his constitution by indulgence, and he died of dropsy at Milan (Jan. 17th, A.D. 385), leaving his empire to his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius.

* Keightley. Heeren. Taylor.

Suddenly called from a private station to the head of the Eastern Empire, Theodosius had remained true to his principles and early rules of conduct. He obtained his elevation in the most honourable manner, without intrigue and without court interest, and he held the power placed in his hands with the strictest regard to truth and justice. His defects were, a too slavish submission to the intolerant ecclesiastics of his day, who forced him to the enactment of persecuting laws against heretics and pagans; a violence of temper, which led to the massacre of the Thessalonians; and an over-fondness for the pleasures of the table, which brought him to a premature death, to the great injury of the empire. His efforts to preserve the boundaries of the empire, not a province of which was lost before his death, required an increase of taxes; but, however oppressive this might be, we cannot impute it as a crime to the ruler. In an empire so enfeebled in itself, and which, nevertheless, had powerful foes on every side to contend with, it followed that every active reign would be oppressive. Yet never before had the internal depopulation of the empire made it necessary to take so many barbarians into Roman pay as under this reign; whence naturally followed a change in the arms and tactics of the Roman armies.*

After the death of Theodosius, the empires of the East and West became totally distinct and independent states. The former was at first governed by Arcadius, the eldest son of the late emperor, the Western Empire was ruled by Honorius, who was but eleven years old at the time of his accession. Their father left both the emperors under the care of Stilicho, a man of great talent, who had commanded both the cavalry and infantry of the empire. The Prefect of the East was Rufinus, a Gaul, who had gained the favour of the late emperor by his dissimulation and address. This man was the chief adviser of Arcadius, while Stilicho remained with young Honorius in Italy. Rufinus almost immediately commenced a course of conduct, which procured for him immense wealth, and the hatred and envy of all. He intended to effect the union of his daughter with the emperor; but an errand of cruelty took him to Antioch, and his schemes were defeated in his absence.

The emperor was wedded to the beautiful orphan, Eudoxia, the daughter of the Frank general, Bauto. Rufinus still possessed so much influence with the emperor as to induce him to forbid Stilicho to advance with the troops which were marching eastward under his command. Accordingly, Stilicho remained at Thessalonica, and sent on the soldiers under the command of Gainas, a Goth, whom he intrusted with the execution of a plan for the destruction of the ambitious Rufinus. The soldiers were well acquainted with the design of the commander, and they carefully preserved the secret, and co-operated with Gainas in effecting the downfall of the haughty minister. Rufinus was slain at the side of the emperor, and his body was treated with every species of indignity by the populace whom he had oppressed. (A. D. 395.)

* Gibbon. Keightley. Heeren.

In the following year the Goths advanced into Greece, where they were met by Stilicho. Alaric, the young and intrepid leader of the Goths, circumvented the minister in his attempts to surround them, until he had successfully terminated a negotiation with Arcadius, the emperor of the East, for his appointment to the military command of Eastern Illyricum.

Stilicho, having received orders to depart from the dominions of Arcadius, had his attention directed to Africa, where Gildo, the brother of the unfortunate Firmus, had risen, under the nominal title of Governor of Africa, to be an almost independent ruler. Theodosius had neither noticed his excesses nor his absolute tyranny, but the wily African had no favour to expect from Stilicho. He therefore tendered his allegiance to Arcadius, whose ministers signified their title to the province. Stilicho caused the senate to proclaim the faithless governor a public enemy, and sent an army against him under the charge of his own brother Mascezel, whom he had exiled, after killing his children. The troops of the rebel submitted without a battle, and he ended his existence by suicide. (A. D. 398.) Mascezel was received with great favour on his return, but he had roused the envy of Stilicho, who has been charged with his death. He was riding with Stilicho over a bridge, when his horse threw him into the river; Stilicho smiled, the attendants gave no help, and the general was drowned.*

The great Alaric was chosen by his people, King of the Visigoths, in addition to his other office of Governor of Illyricum. For some years he pursued a dubious policy between the Emperors of the East and the West, but he finally invaded Italy, and besieged the Emperor Honorius in the town of Asta, in Liguria. Stilicho was absent, employed in collecting an army. On his return, he succeeded in relieving the young emperor, and defeating Alaric, who repassed the Po for the purpose of inflicting a blow on another part of the empire. But a second defeat forced him to make a treaty, by which Italy was for a time delivered from the Goths. (A. D. 403.) Fearing another Gothic invasion, Honorius fixed his residence at Ravenna (A. D. 404), which continued for more than three centuries to be the seat of government in Italy.

Two years after the departure of Alaric, a numerous host of Germans, estimated at 200,000 fighting men, with their wives, children and servants, poured into Italy. Stilicho pursued a cautious policy in the field; surrounding them with impregnable lines of circumvallation, and forcing them by famine to surrender. Their leader Radagaisus was beheaded, and the common barbarians sold for slaves. (A. D. 405.) But Stilicho having entered into an alliance with Alaric, for the purpose of wresting from the empire of the East the province of Illyricum, was overreached by the intrigues of Olympius, a man who had been raised to the position he enjoyed in the emperor's regard by Stilicho himself. He took advantage of the weakness of the emperor, and

* Zosimus. Gibbon. Keightley.

of the jealousy between the Roman and foreign soldiers, to accuse his benefactor of aspiring at the sovereignty, and Stilicho was executed. (Aug. 23d, 408.) Thus the folly of Honorius lost to his arms the only commander who was capable of defending his dominions, whose fame and fortune depended on the prosperity of the state, and who had repeatedly defeated the barbarians, to whom it was asserted he designed to deliver Italy.

The virtues of Stilicho being no longer formidable, Alaric hesitated not to pay to them a great and worthy tribute. He announced himself as the friend of the murdered minister, and his determination to avenge his fall. In that character he appeared in Italy in the same year.

Rome, for the first time since the days of Hannibal, saw a foreign enemy before her gates; she purchased peace, but failing to fulfil the conditions, Alaric was again beneath her walls, became master of her seaport, and forced her citizens to acknowledge as emperor Attalus, the prefect of the city. (A. D. 409.) After an unsuccessful attempt to capture Ravenna, where Honorius resided, Alaric assumed the diadem, made himself master of Rome by force, and gave it up to be plundered by his troops. (Aug. 24th, 410.) He died soon afterwards in Lower Italy, where he was projecting the capture of Sicily and Africa.

This great leader, the first to teach to barbarians the weakness of the mistress of the world, will ever be distinguished for the firm and judicious character of his policy. Uniting by his genius, his noble birth, and his glorious exploits, the whole body of his nation under his standards, Alaric was enabled at the same time to infuse into his subjects his own boldness and cunning, and to restrain their ardour until he was prepared to invade the dominions of the West. When defeated on the plains near Asta, he withdrew from the battle with the greatest part of his cavalry entire and unbroken, and rising superior to misfortune, he derived new resources from adversity, and resolved to shake the very walls of Rome itself. Such a spirit was invincible; the proud mistress of the world paid a heavy retribution for the sufferings she had caused to so many cities, countries, and nations, in the days of her splendour and power. A thousand years had she been engaged in the collection of treasures—treasures wrung from the blood of allies and enemies—treasures which now came at once into the possession of the mighty Goth. But Alaric was a Christian, and the least barbarous of all the conquerors that ravaged the Roman empire. Even his enemies praise his moderation, and accord their gratitude for his clemency in sparing not only the churches, but all who fled to them for shelter. The Romans rejoiced when he fell a prey to the king of terrors; they hoped for the enjoyment of peace undisturbed by the ravages of invaders; but Alaric had taught to the barbarians the way to Rome, and the march of desolation was soon renewed.

Adolphus, the brother-in-law and successor of Alaric, left the now exhausted Italy for Gaul, whence he proceeded into Spain, and founded the



A L A R I C.

kingdom of the Visigoths. While in Gaul, he married Placidia, the sister of Honorius, whom he had carried with him either as a prisoner or as a hostage. On his death (Aug. 415), she returned to her brother, who married her to Constantius, whom he afterwards associated in the empire. This honour was conferred upon Constantius as a reward for his valour in vanquishing and putting to death Constantine (Nov. 28th, 411), a usurper, who appeared in Britain and Gaul, during the war in Italy. The new Augustus did not long survive his elevation; he died in 420, and Placidia retired to Constantinople, where she remained until the death of Honorius.*

The dropsy carried off the feeble and contemptible monarch of the West (August 15th, 423), after an inglorious reign of twenty-eight years. After his death, his secretary, John, usurped the government, but was defeated by the Eastern emperor, Theodosius II. The nephew of Honorius, Valentinian III., was then raised to the throne under the guardianship of his mother, Placidia. Besides the Gothic kingdom established in Spain and Eastern Gaul (A. D. 412), by Adolphus and his successor Wallia, the Franks, the Burgundians, and other barbarous tribes had cut off other portions of Gaul: and Britain and Armorica had become independent. The Britons had so degenerated that they were unable to resist their barbarous neighbours, the Picts and Scots; they therefore applied for aid to the warlike tribes of the Angles and Saxons. The

* Heeren.

summons was readily obeyed; but when the Picts and Scots were repelled, the defenders took possession of the redeemed territory, and named it Angleland, since contracted into England. Britain was never after subject to the Roman emperors.

In the meantime, the profligate administration of the Empress Eudoxia, and the eunuch Eutropius, had disgraced the reign of Arcadius in the East. The most illustrious persons fell victims to their cruelty, and the empress finally compassed the murder of her own colleague, Eutropius. St. Chrysostom, the eloquent Bishop of Constantinople, boldly met the vices of the court and the church with the thunders of his eloquence; but the guilty parties united in procuring his deposition and ruin, and he was hurried to the grave by his revengeful oppressors, under the name and authority of Arcadius. The younger Theodosius succeeded to the purple (A.D. 408), under the direction of his sister Pulcheria, who ruled the East with much of the spirit of her ancestor, the great Theodosius, for more than forty years. Placidia governed the West at the same time, though with far less ability.

The armies of the West were commanded by two generals, Ætius and Boniface. The former had been engaged in the service of the secretary John, and had brought a force of 60,000 Huns to the confines of Italy, for the purpose of aiding him, when he heard of his death. The Hunnish army was then sent back, and he entered into the service of Valentinian, and the confidence of Placidia. He employed his influence for the destruction of his rival, who easily fell into the snare laid for him. Ætius persuaded Placidia to recall Boniface, and at the same time assured that officer that his recall was the first step towards his death, and advised him to disobey the imperial mandate. Boniface implicitly believed the assertions of his enemy, and repelled by arms the first attacks made on him; but he doubted his ability to resist single-handed, and therefore proposed an alliance to Genseric, King of the Vandals, who had forcibly obtained possession of the province of *Boëtica*, afterwards called from them *Andalusia*. Genseric landed in Africa (May, 429), with a force of 50,000 Vandals, Alans, Goths, and others, and his standard was followed by the Moors and the persecuted Donatists. Boniface discovered the duplicity of Ætius, and the error he had committed, when too late. He returned to his allegiance, and requested Genseric to leave the province; but the Vandal hero refused, and defeated him in a pitched battle. Boniface was besieged in *Hippo Regius*, the modern *Bona*, for fourteen months, when he was reinforced from the East. He then ventured upon another battle, but was again defeated. (A.D. 431). He finally abandoned the province, and returned to Italy, where Placidia received him kindly, and raised him to high rank.

Genseric had still two important fortresses to reduce; *Cirta* and *Carthage*, and it was not till the tenth year after his landing in Africa that the latter was taken, and by surprise, not force.* (Oct. 18, 439).

* Keightley.

The quarrel between Ætius and Boniface was decided by a battle, in which Boniface was victorious; but he was mortally wounded in the engagement. (A.D. 432.) Ætius was proclaimed a rebel, and forced to seek safety among the Huns. By the aid of a large body of that people, with whom he always remained on the most friendly terms, he dictated terms of peace to the empress, and in effect governed the empire. But notwithstanding his friendly relations with the Huns, he was unable to preserve the empire from the encroachments of their formidable ruler, Attila, called "The scourge of God." That able monarch had extorted vast sums as the price of forbearance from the Byzantine empire, and had threatened war against the Emperor Marcian, whom Pulcheria had made her husband and nominal emperor on the death of Theodosius II. Theodoric, the son of the great Alaric, occupied the throne of the Visigoths after the decease of Wallia. He had attempted to enlarge his dominions at the expense of the Romans; but Ætius successfully defended the invaded country, and Theodoric made peace. A war soon after followed between him and Genseric, who had shamefully mutilated his wife, and sent her home to her father, Theodoric. Genseric called for aid upon Attila, and Theodoric desisted from his intended invasion of Africa. Attila was incited to arms by Honoria, the sister of Valentinian, who desired to escape from a nunnery in Constantinople, where she had been confined in consequence of the discovery of an intrigue which she had had with her chamberlain. Hating a life of celibacy, she sent a trusty eunuch to Attila with a ring as the pledge of her affection. The Hunnish monarch immediately demanded her and a share of the empire. His demand being refused, he suddenly invaded Gaul, everywhere slaughtering the inhabitants, and giving their houses and provisions to the flames. The heads of the murdered inhabitants were suspended as trophies round the bodies of their horses: and no enormity which barbarism could invent was omitted in their treatment of the unfortunate Romans. Their career of cruelty was, however, cut short at the great battle of Chalons, where the allies of the empire, led by Ætius and Theodoric, inflicted upon them a terrible defeat. (A.D. 452). The latter, however, lost his life in the conflict. Attila retired beyond the frontiers, but in the ensuing spring he poured his armies like a torrent into Italy, and laid waste the peninsula. He was induced to retire from Italy on receiving an immense sum as the dower of the Princess Honoria; but he threatened dreadful vengeance if she were not delivered to his ambassador. The fall of the empire was delayed by his death, which happened in the following year. Having drank too freely on the occasion of marrying a new wife in addition to the number which he already had, he burst a blood-vessel and expired. (A.D. 453).

By a description which Jornandes has left us of the person of Attila, we learn that he had a large head, a flat nose, broad shoulders, and a short and ill-formed body. His walk was proud, his voice strong and well-toned. Savage though he was, pity found a place in his bosom, and his assurance of pardon



ATTILA.

to a suppliant enemy was never violated. His reputation for justice and indulgence was doubtless the cause of the submission of so many warlike tribes to his control; and the rapidity with which his vast empire fell to pieces after his death, shows how vastly superior was his genius to that of his sons and successors. Not satisfied with being acknowledged as their bravest warrior and most skilful general, he sought to inspire the tribes over which he ruled with a supernatural reverence for his person. Superstitious to a degree himself, he well knew how to take advantage of the same quality in his countrymen. They revered the presiding genius of war, but knew not how to make a corporeal representation of him, nor to form an abstract idea of his nature. Attila therefore supplied them with a symbol; he gave out that he had found the sword of Mars, and then, as its rightful possessor, asserted his holy and indisputable title to the dominion of the earth. The success of this scheme induced him to follow it up with another. He attributed the murder of his brother Bleda to a supernatural influence, and his followers celebrated the horrid deed with rejoicings as for a victory. As a general, he usually tempered his valour with prudence, yet when occasion required it, he exposed his person with the rashness of a private soldier, animating and encouraging his troops by his voice, his presence, and his example. Like Alaric, he suffered neither defeat nor difficulty to impair his spirit, reputation, or resources, and his behaviour after being defeated by Ætius was compared by his enemies to that of a lion encompassed in his den, threatening the hunters with redoubled fury. But, unlike the great Visigothic monarch, he gloried in his savage and destruc-

tive spirit, frequently involved in indiscriminate massacre the whole of a conquered people, and caused himself everywhere to be known by the title given to him by a hermit of Gaul: "The scourge of God." His table was served with wooden cups and platters; flesh was his only food, and the conqueror of the north never tasted the luxury of bread.* It was a saying worthy of his ferocious pride, that grass never grew where his horse had trod.

The worthless and dissolute Valentinian feared and hated his able minister, and, instigated by his favourites, he resolved to rid himself of the man who alone of all his subjects could support his throne. Ætius came incautiously to the palace, and addressed an intemperate speech to the emperor. Valentinian drew his sword, for the first time in his life, and plunged it into his bosom; his guards followed the example, and Ætius expired with a hundred wounds. (A.D. 454.) His principal friends all shared the same fate.

Ætius was universally celebrated as the terror of the barbarians and the support of the republic, and his fate was regretted and his abilities esteemed within the walls of the palace itself. The emperor condescended to solicit the approbation of a Roman in his service for the murder, but he had applied to a man incapable of dissimulation even to a tyrant. "I am ignorant, sir, of your motives or provocations; I only know that you have acted like a man who cuts off his right hand with his left." Much has been written concerning the crimes and the treason of Ætius, but at the time of his murder, he stood in the position of the protector of the empire, the conqueror of her most ferocious enemy. "If the early acts of his life," says a learned commentator, "the introduction of the Huns into Italy, and of the Vandals into Africa, were among the proximate causes of the ruin of the empire, his murder was the signal for its almost immediate downfall."†

Valentinian was speedily rewarded for his cowardice and treachery. Having invaded the domestic peace of the patrician Maximus, he was assassinated by two of his guards, who had formerly been the domestics of Ætius, and who were instigated to revenge their master by the patrician. (March 16th, 455.) Maximus became his successor, and on the death of his wife, married the late emperor's widow. Having in an unguarded hour revealed to Eudoxia the part he had taken in the murder of Valentinian, whom, worthless as he was, she had tenderly loved, she sent a secret message to Genseric, inviting him to come to her aid. The Vandal king entered the Tiber with a large armament; Maximus was slain by his subjects (June 12th, 455); the city of Rome was delivered to pillage, attended with every species of atrocity; and the Empress Eudoxia, with her two daughters, and thousands of other captives, were embarked for Africa. During twenty years Genseric was the terror of the East and the West. He commanded his numerous fleet in person, and devastated all the coast of the Mediterranean. After his death, in 477, the

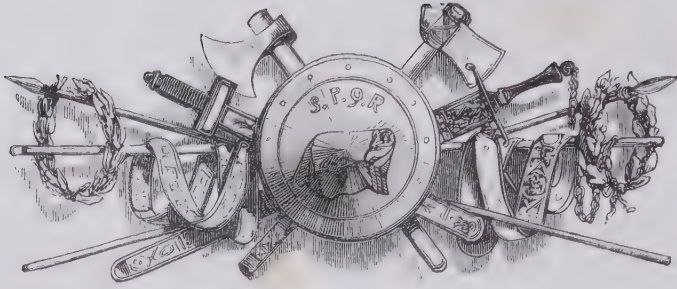
* Gibbon.

† Milman—*Notes to Gibbon*.

Vandal kingdom was incessantly agitated by religious persecutions, or harassed by the Moors, until Belisarius appeared on the scene.

The successor of Marcian, on the throne of the East, was Leo the Great (A. D. 457). He appeared to revive the long disused military elections of the empire. The Isaurian guard had displaced the Prætorians, whose privileges they now assumed. On the death of Leo (Jan. 474), they chose Zeno, his son-in-law, to succeed him, and deposed his son, Leo II. But a revolution deprived Zeno of the sceptre, and the empire fell into the hands of Basiliscus, who terminated by an edict of union the quarrels which divided the church. In 491, Anastasius, the Silentiary, was invested with the imperial dignity. He built Dara, in Armenia, to cover the Persian frontier, and sought to provide for the defence of Constantinople by building a wall from the Euxine to the Propontis. He relieved the people from many oppressive taxes; but religious quarrels disturbed his reign, and on one occasion 100,000 of the inhabitants of the capital fell victims to their rancour. Justin I., a Thracian peasant, succeeded to the throne (A. D. 518); nine years afterwards the sceptre came into the hands of his celebrated nephew, Justinian.

After the death of Maximus, Avitus, a noble Gaul, was chosen Emperor of the West (A. D. 455), but Ricimer, the commander of the barbarian allies of Rome, deposed him, and gave the sceptre to Majorian. (A. D. 457.) The soldiers were dissatisfied with the choice, and dethroned him in turn. Ricimer then appointed Severus (A. D. 461), but he was forced by the Vandals to apply to Constantinople for aid, and to offer the nomination of an emperor to Leo the Great, who selected Anthemius as the best person to fill this high but dangerous station. A force was sent from the East against the Vandals in Africa; but it was defeated, and compelled to return to Constantinople. (A. D. 468.) Ricimer put Anthemius to death (A. D. 472), and chose Olybrius to succeed him. But the barbarian general and his puppet ruler both died within a few months, and Julius Nepos was made emperor by Leo. (A. D. 474.) Glycerius, an obscure soldier, disputed the succession with Nepos; being unable, however, to continue the contest, he resigned the sceptre and became Bishop of Salona. Nepos was deposed by Orestes, who had succeeded to the command of Ricimer. He fled into Dalmatia, where the new-made bishop of Salona caused him to be assassinated. Orestes conferred upon his son Romulus Momillus the imperial dignity and the title of Augustulus; but Odoacer, the leader of the German auxiliaries, took up arms, captured Orestes, and put him to death. (A. D. 476.) Augustulus soon after died a captive in Campania. Odoacer abolished the title of emperor, and assumed that of King of Italy. He was unable to defend the country against the invasions of the Ostrogoths, who hurled him from the throne and founded a new empire. Thus ignominiously fell the empire of the West: that of the East endured for a thousand years longer, notwithstanding its intestine broils, and the continued attacks of the hosts of barbarians of the middle ages.



CHAPTER II.

The Period of the Establishment of the Barbarians in the Western Empire.



DURING the four hundred years that the Romans were exclusive masters of Spain, the people of that province advanced rapidly in civilization and the knowledge of the arts, but the galling chain of Roman servitude broke the spirit and destroyed the patriotism, courage, and hardihood of the proud Spaniards. The Visigoths met with no resistance from the Spaniards, when they attempted to found their kingdom in Spain and Gaul; their only task was to subdue the barbarous invaders who had preceded them. The Alani were destroyed, and the Vandals driven into Belgium, while the Suevi under Hermanrich, founded a kingdom in Galicia, which did not fall under the Gothic dominion till the year 585. In half a century they had extended their dominions over Aquitaine, and the whole of Spain; thus enlarging their limits as the empire abandoned the provinces.*

The Ostrogoths were powerful in Hungary, where they derived great improvement from their neighbours the Italians, and the subjects of the Eastern empire. The country north of the Danube towards the Theiss was occupied by the Longobardi, who had long ago abandoned their seats upon the Elbe. A nation calling themselves the Bojoari had been gradually formed in Bavaria, from remnants of the Rugi, Heruli, Scyrri, Turcilingi, and from the Suevic

* Des Michal's Middle Ages.

tribes, particularly the Marcomanni. The name of this nation points especially to a Bohemian origin; the Marcomanni coming from this country, which was more anciently called Boja or Bojos, transferred its name to the seats they occupied after the Danube districts had become free, and called themselves Bojoari, or Bojovari.*

The Allemanni were fixed in the eastern part of Switzerland, in Suabia, and as far as Cologne on both banks of the Rhine. The name of Alsations was afterwards applied to those who dwelt on the left bank of the Rhine; while the name of the country Suabia has preserved the appellation of Suevi, which about this time appears among them. The deepest obscurity hangs over the early history of the Thuringians, who are first noticed about the middle of the fifth century. Their seats extended from the present Hartz Mountains to Franconia. The Saxons retained their ancient seats and constitution in Lower Saxony and Westphalia, the Friesi being near them on the North Sea.

The Salians who dwelt in the Netherlands, and the Ripuarians on the coast of the Rhine, were the most considerable tribes of the nation of Franks, which had its seat on the Lower Rhine, on the Maas and the Scheldt, as far as the Netherlands, and in the north of France. The name of Armorica was applied to an alliance of free cities, which had been established in the modern Brittany by fugitives from the hostility of the Picts in Britain. The Burgundi occupied South-Eastern France, Savoy, and Western Switzerland. Their chief cities were Geneva, Besançon, Lyons, and Vienne. They can be traced back to the country between the Oder and the Vistula, in the southern part of West Prussia. They were distinguished from the other Germans, by their living together in villages, whence, according to some writers, they received their name of Burgundi, from the German word *burgen*. Others, however, derive their name from *gunt* (combat), as alluding to the warlike character of the race, and make Burgundi mean the lance of war.† Early attached to Christianity and its humanizing influences, the Burgundians were the mildest of the conquering tribes of this period; and many remains of Roman art found in that portion of France owe their preservation to the care of this people. The north-western coast of Africa was in the possession of the Vandals, and the Angles and Saxons were gradually augmenting their power in Britain.

Germany in the east and north-east was left comparatively unoccupied by the southern and western migrations; and the Slavonic tribes, who had long been seated on those boundaries, now took possession of the vacant lands, and the Germans who refused to follow their countrymen, became incorporated with the foreigners.‡

Among the petty chiefs who had fought as auxiliaries under Ætius in the battle of Chalons, A.D. 451, was Merovæus, the leader of the small but

* Kohlrausch's History of Germany.

† Malte Brun. Anthon.

‡ Kohlrausch's History of Germany.



ELEVATION OF KING CLOVIS

renowned Frank race of Salians. The Salian Franks were remarkable for having established hereditary government in the family of their leader; the princes being distinguished from the rest of the nation by the custom of wearing long curls descending over the shoulders. To have these curls cut, either by force or voluntarily, was esteemed as a disgrace of the deepest dye. By aggressions on the Belgian and Lyonnese districts, Merovæus considerably enlarged the territory he had received at the death of his father. (A.D. 448.) The empire of the West expired during the reign of his successor Childeric. That prince, having been banished by his successor on account of his tyranny, sought refuge with the King of Thuringia. Ægidius, a Roman, or Romanized Frank, conducted the government during his absence. Several years after his banishment, Childeric returned from his exile, carrying with him the wife of the Thuringian monarch, whom he had seduced in requital for the protection he had received. But a portion of his tribe returned to his government; the rest remained true to Ægidius. When that general died, his son Syagrius succeeded to his power, while the dominions of Childeric fell into the hands of his son Clovis, who, according to a remarkable custom of the Franks, was elevated on the shields of his countrymen, by way of inauguration as

their king. Syagrius collected a number of Romanized Gauls around his standard, termed himself King of the Romans, and affected to govern in the right of the empire. He fixed his capital at Soissons; that of Clovis was Tournay. The first act of the King of the Franks was a declaration of war for the recovery of what he regarded as his patrimony. Syagrius took the field against him; but he was defeated in the first battle, and forced to flee for refuge and aid to Alaric, King of the Visigoths. Alaric and his guest were concerting a plan of operations, when a messenger arrived from Clovis to assure the King of Toulouse that if he gave refuge to Syagrius, the war would be brought into his own country. Alaric was alarmed and intimidated by such boldness. He returned for answer that the fugitive was under safe guard at his court, and Syagrius was soon after executed. (A. D. 486.)* The provinces which had been subject to Syagrius now came into the possession of Clovis, who with some difficulty prevented his followers from resorting to pillage. A story told of one of his soldiers well represents the state of society which prevailed among the Franks as similar to that of a band of robbers. Rheims escaped from total ruin by being plundered. Among the booty taken was a very valuable vase, belonging to the Christian church of the city. The bishop sent to Soissons to entreat the restoration of the consecrated vessel, and Clovis, willing to conciliate his new subjects, promised to grant their request. When the spoils came to be divided, the king sought to include the vase in his share, but a Frank warrior was displeased, and dealt a heavy blow upon the vase with his battle-axe (*francisca*), exclaiming, "Thou shalt have nothing but what falls to thy lot." The vase, however, was restored to the church, but the rough warrior was allowed for a time to go unpunished. Some time afterwards, Clovis, when reviewing his troops, took occasion to find fault with the arms of this man, and threw them on the ground. As the soldier stooped to pick them up, Clovis dealt him a blow with his own *francisca* on the head, reminding him, as he fell dying, of the vase of Soissons.†

While the Franks were extending their dominions, their original seats were invaded by Basin, the King of Thuringia, with whom Childeric had taken refuge. He avenged the wrong which Childeric had committed by the most fearful and unheard-of atrocities upon the defenceless inhabitants who fell into his hands. Clovis was at Soissons when he heard of these outrages, and he immediately marched against the invader, drove him from the country, and imposed on him an annual tribute.

The Burgundians preferred repose to the fatigue and turmoils of war, and the King of the Visigoths had exhibited such pusillanimity in not protecting Syagrius, that Clovis determined to procure for his tribe the fertility, mild climate, and the commercial wealth of the south of France. He demanded of Gondebaud, the King of Burgundy, the hand of his niece Clotilda in marriage.

* Michelet's France. Kohlrausch's Germany.

† Gregory of Tours.



FRANK WARRIOR BREAKING THE VASE.

Clotilda was hated by her uncle, who, though he dared not refuse the demand of Clovis, employed an enemy of her house to stop the litter which was conveying her to her future husband, and deprive her of the honour and happiness in store for her. The litter and the marriage-present were captured; but Clotilda escaped with part of her attendants on horseback, and set fire to everything that belonged to her uncle or his subjects, on her way out of the kingdom. This furnished Clovis with a pretext for a war, and though we have no account of the struggle, Gondebaud was finally forced to become tributary to Clovis. Clotilda was possessed of much influence over her warlike husband, and she strove hard to win him over to the Christian faith, in which she had been educated. Saint Remi aided by his eloquence the prayers of the queen, but Clovis thought it shame to allow himself to be moved in religion by a woman or a monk, and he long resisted their efforts. Their labours were, however, not unrewarded. Clovis was conditionally converted on the field of battle, where an opportunity offered itself for a change of faith under more auspicious circumstances.



The Allemanni, having received no share when the empire was divided among the barbarians, fell upon the country of the Ripuarian Franks. The passage of the Rhine was bravely contested, but the Allemanni would have been successful had not Clovis marched at the head of the Salians, to repel the assailants. They met in the plains of Tolbiac, four or five leagues west of the river (A. D. 496). The victory was fiercely contested; Sigebert had been wounded in the knee and disabled from leading his troops, who were beginning to give way, when Clovis, addressing himself to Heaven in despair, vowed to become a Christian if victory were vouchsafed to him. According to the monkish writers, "his invocation was heard;" the fortune of the day was changed by a mortal wound given to the King of the Allemanni, and his followers were totally routed.

Saint Remi and the queen hastened to complete the work thus begun. A day was fixed for the baptism of the king, and the priests laboured zealously among the Franks, who readily followed the example of the king. On the appointed day the king and three thousand of his followers were all brought into the church, which thus received the support of the greatest champion of the age. Undoubtedly the conversion of Clovis was the effect of the ambitious policy of that king himself. He became a member of the orthodox faction, and was thus supplied with a pretext for interfering in the disputes of the other kings in Gaul, who were all fierce sectarians. All the petty kings of France were brought to the grave by the treacheries of Clovis. "Thy father grows old and halts on his bad foot; were he to die, his kingdom and my friendship would be thine;" was the significant message which he sent to the son of Sigebert the lame, King of Cologne. The young prince had his father assassinated. A second embassy requested of the prince a sight of his treasures, and besought him to plunge his arm to the bottom of the chest to show them the amount it contained. He complied, and the ambassadors cleft his head with a battle-axe as he was stooping down. On receiving notice of the death of Sigebert and his successor, Clovis took possession of their territory under the pretence of protecting the people from ambitious princes. Chararic and his son were slain at his command, and their kingdom, treasures, and subjects became his own. Thus he steadily pursued a course of murder and aggrandizement, until his kingdom extended from the Rhine to Switzerland. The Burgundians acknowledged his suzerainty, and he bent his eyes again towards the kingdom of the Visigoths, in the south of France. King Alaric endeavoured to avert the coming storm by forming an alliance with the Franks. He met Clovis on an island in the Loire near Amboise, where they ate and drank together, and pledged themselves to maintain amicable relations with each other. But Clovis continued to acquire an influence with the Visigoth Catholics; and Alaric, by resorting to persecution, furthered instead of counteracting the intrigues of the Frank king. The orthodox party sought protection and support from Clovis, against the king and his adherents, who resorted to banishment



INTERVIEW OF ALARIC AND CLOVIS.

and confiscation to crush the opposition. In order to succour them, and secure the power and territory of their oppressor, Clovis forgot the inconvenient oath he had given to Alaric at their conference. "I am grieved," said the pious sovereign, "that these Arians have so long possessed a part of Gaul. Let us, with the aid of God, expel them, and reduce the country they possess to our allegiance. We shall do well, for it is good." His army was speedily on the march for Poitiers, where he contemplated joining battle with Alaric. He paid the greatest respect to the property of the church on the march, and affected a reverence for canonized personages, which won for him the attachment of the whole of the Catholics, and inspired his opponents with a favourable opinion of his piety. Miraculous circumstances foretold the success of the expedition: though no small share of the honour derived from it is due to the sons of the



BAPTISM OF CLOVIS.

church, who lost no opportunity of showing their respect for a sovereign whose conduct evinced so great a regard for the interests of the orthodox church. There appeared no way of crossing the Vienne; and the expedition seemed about to be compromised by delay, when a hart crossed the stream in sight of the whole army, and thus pointed out the ford. Clovis consulted the lots of St. Martin de Tours, which were favourable to him, and a pillar of fire appeared on the Cathedral of Poitiers for his guidance by night. In a plain near Vouillé or Vironne, he encountered Alaric (A. D. 507). A great battle was fought, in which Alaric was transfixd by the spear of Clovis, who took possession of the chief cities of his country, and would probably have destroyed his whole kingdom, had not the great Theodoric interfered and driven him back with his irresistible might.

Leaving Clovis for the present to content himself with the country between the Loire and the Garonne, we return to the kingdom of Italy, where important changes had taken place. The fellow-soldiers of Odoacer were barbarians of various nations, who had procured by their arms an independent and perpetual inheritance, in imitation of their brethren in Spain and Gaul. Though the subjection of Italy to an insolent soldiery, and the partition of the third of its territory among the brutal conquerors, seemed to plunge the degenerate Romans into the deepest abyss of misery and shame, we may trace from this epoch the slow revival of those energies which had long been extinguished in the Italians by the tyranny of the Cæsars. The mixture of the barbarian soldiery of Odoacer with the slothful and voluptuous people whose possessions they had forcibly shared, infused the principles of life into a diseased and corrupted body. The settlement of the conquerors in the provinces of Italy must be regarded only as the establishment, in a firmer posture, of the foreign mercenaries who had long formed the whole force of the state. Odoacer headed no new swarm of barbarians, and his prudence and humanity arrested the progress of desolation and wretchedness in a country which had groaned under every extremity of war, pestilence, and famine. His reign was short; but he fell to make way for other conquerors, and the native population was refreshed and invigorated by new accessions of foreign strength. At different intervals the Goths, the Lombards, and the Franks, successively acquired the dominion of Italy, and incorporated themselves with their subjects, until the Italian character, thus quickening with the spirit of personal independence, the glorious distinction of these northern people, rose from the depths of humiliation and cowardice to an elevation and dignity of soul which at once fitted it for the enjoyment and insured the possession of freedom.*

In the year 489 A. D., fourteen years after Odoacer had assumed the sceptre, he was called to defend his dominions from the attacks of Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths. When the kingdom of the Huns fell asunder after

* Procter's Italy. Sismondi's Italian Republics of the Middle Ages.

the death of the great Attila, that people became free and dwelt in Hungary and the neighbouring countries of the Danube. They had frequent disputes with the Emperors of the East, one of which was terminated by a peace purchased of the barbarians by the puerile Zeno. As a pledge of the alliance, Theodoric, or Dieterich, was sent to Constantinople, where he passed his youth in the acquisition of knowledge, the pleasures of warlike exercises, and the observance of the institutions of a great empire. By the death of his uncles and father he arrived at the sovereignty of his nation, and he brought to the throne all the heroic qualities of uncivilized life, with many of the milder virtues. He had proved to his subjects, by his exploits, that he had not degenerated from the valour of his ancestors; and they all rallied round his banner, to be led from the unfruitful wastes of the Sau and the Danube, to a more desirable territory. Zeno seized the opportunity of ridding himself of a dangerous ally, by proposing to Theodoric that he might found the large and beautiful kingdom he desired in the fertile land of Italy. Since the fall of the western empire, Zeno had maintained a friendly correspondence with Odoacer, yet his fears led him to suffer Theodoric to lead his turbulent and restless followers into Italy as the faithful ally of the Emperor of the East.

The march of Theodoric was the emigration of an entire people, the Goths having broken up their former seats and carried their families and most precious effects with them. Theodoric encountered the army of Odoacer near Aquileia, and the King of Italy defended with unshaken courage the crown which his sword had won. His troops, however, were unable to resist the impetuous onset of the Goths, and the king was obliged to fly. Theodoric gained a second victory at Verona, from which he was styled in ballads and legendary songs, the great hero, Dieterich of Berne, which signifies Verona.* After suffering a third defeat near the Adda (A.D. 490), Odoacer found the gates of Rome closed against him. He retired to Ravenna, where he was besieged for three years. The contest was at length terminated by a treaty, which gave equal and undivided authority over Italy to the two leaders, and admitted Theodoric into Ravenna. During the rejoicings on the occasion, the unfortunate Odoacer was slain, either by the hand of Theodoric, or by his command (March 9, 493).

His soldiers all shared the fate of their leader, and Theodoric reigned without opposition over all Italy. His long reign was an era of tranquil felicity for the inhabitants of that country; he ruled with a kind and mild hand over both the Goths and the Romans, and introduced a happiness into Italy to which it had long been a stranger. He renounced the prosecution of further conquests, to devote himself to the duties of civil government. The terror of his name was sufficient to preserve Italy, for forty years after his accession, from the horrors of invasion. Agriculture and trade

* Kohlrausch's Germany.

flourished to a great extent; the Italians not only raising sufficient corn to need no importations from Sicily and Africa, but actually transporting it into Gaul. Theodoric also protected art and science, and many ancient cities rose from their ruins under his fostering hand. Elevated far above the other kings of his time by his wisdom and justice, he appeared among them as an institutor of peace, and the most distant tribes sought his advice and honoured him with presents. He represented to the other barbarian kings the advantages of peace, and held out to them the picture of a great alliance founded upon justice and wisdom, between all the Christian nations of German origin who had fixed their seat in Europe. But while he preached peace with earnestness and love, Clovis waged war with his sword, despised his doctrines, and sought only to bring a multitude of tribes under his dominion.* When he finally interposed his strong arm to save the kingdom of the Visigoths from destruction, the whole of that people recognised his suzerainty and consented to pay him tribute. Thus the control of the principal countries of the western world was divided between Clovis and his antagonist, the King of the Ostrogoths. Theodoric comprehended within his realm, all the provinces lying along the European coast of the Mediterranean, Italy, Illyria, Portugal, Spain, and Septimania. The latter was the new title of the Visigothic kingdom, which comprised Provence, and the territory skirting the Alps, and lying along that coast of the Mediterranean. The Frank kingdom was much less extensive than that of the Ostrogoths. It comprised the western, northern, and part of the southern provinces of France; Belgium, a territory of questionable extent east of the Rhine; and pretensions to sovereignty over the Thuringians, and the German tribes between the Rhine and the shores of the Baltic. The Burgundians lived in secure insignificance, apart from all other nations, and enjoying their own laws, customs, creed, and observances.†

The chagrin with which Clovis beheld the gigantic power of Theodoric dash from him the undivided sovereignty of France, for which he had laboured during the whole of his stormy life, must have been excessive, and was but ill concealed by his attempts to appear contented with the glory and gain he had secured. Had his ambitious designs remained unchecked, he would probably have spurned as an indignity a circumstance which he now turned into a matter of triumph. Anastasius, the eastern emperor, having quarrelled with Theodoric, sent ambassadors to Clovis during his disputes with that monarch, to invest him with the robes and ensigns of patrician and consul. This assumption of absolute authority on the part of the emperor, though it added nothing to the power or the dignity of Clovis, was received by him with apparent pleasure. Supposing that the formality would operate favourably upon the Visigothic population, who had become to a great extent Romanized, he hastened to exhibit to his subjects the imperial ensigns. A pageant was pre-

* Kohlrausch—Procter.

† Pictorial History of France.



CLOVIS ENTERING TOURS.

pared at Tours, in which the monarch rode through the city dressed in the Roman costume, with eagles borne around him, and officers accompanying the procession scattering gold and silver among the gratified crowd.

It is certain, from his conduct, that the king himself was but ill assured of the stability of the throne which he had founded. Unsuccessful in foreign conquest, he endeavoured to rid himself of all who were likely to interfere with his designs among his own people and family. The chiefs who had been of his council were sacrificed; and he is said to have killed, with his own hand, two princes of his race.

The remainder of the days of the first Christian King of the Franks is marked by murder, perfidy, and all the dark crimes of savage life; his chief aim being to rid himself of all who were likely to interfere with his designs among his own people and family. The important part borne by the clergy in the civil administration of the realm, made it necessary to assemble a great council at Orleans for the regulation of church discipline throughout his dominions, the decree for which was the last public act of his reign. He died Nov. 5th, 511, at Paris, in the thirtieth year of his reign, and the forty-fifth of his age.*

The great Theodoric died in the year 526, a year which commenced the downfall of the monarchy he had founded. His son Athalaric, ten years of age,

* Pictorial History of France.

succeeded to his throne; but died soon after his father, the victim of his early vices. Before twenty-seven years had elapsed after the death of Theodosius, six princes had successively occupied his throne, five of whom were deposed or put to death by the turbulent and divided nobles.

The Roman subjects, who were of the orthodox faction, hated their rulers, who, besides being of Gothic origin, professed the Arian heresy; and many wished once again to be under the rule of the Greek emperors. The Emperor Justinian resolved to take advantage of this spirit, and thus was produced the conquest of Italy by Belisarius and Narses, an account of which will be found in the history of the reign of that emperor. Before proceeding to recount its most remarkable incidents, it will perhaps be well to glance at the fate of the family of Clovis. On the death of that prince his four sons, each of whom headed one of the military encampments, all became kings. They were, in general, worthy of their father. Thierry received Austrasia, or the eastern countries of France, comprehending Lorraine, Alsace, part of Champagne, Luxembourg, and the provinces of the Franks beyond the Rhine. Besides these, the districts which he himself had conquered from the Visigoths were assigned him by his father; they were Rouergue, Auvergne, Quercy, Albigeois, and all the frontier of Provence and Septimania.

The kingdom of Orleans, comprising Beauce, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, was bequeathed to Clodomir. The Isle of France, a moiety of Champagne and of Normandy, with the rights which Clovis had possessed to Armorica, were received by Chilbert, with the title of King of Paris. Artois, Flanders, and Picardy were erected into the kingdom of Soissons, which was given to Clotaire. The three princes last named were the sons of Clovis by Clotilda; they were not yet old enough to undertake the government of their respective states.

Thierry had been born while Clovis was yet a pagan. He had given promise of a warlike, active career during the lifetime of his father, and he commenced fulfilling it by repelling with great skill and vigour, a piratical incursion of Danes, under their king Chlochilaic. They had advanced as far as the duchy of Gueldres, marking the way by pillage and destruction. But Chlochilaic was defeated and slain in a battle in which Theodebert, son of Thierry, greatly distinguished himself; the greater number of the invaders became prisoners, and the booty they had taken was all recovered. The throne of Thuringia was shared between the two brothers Hermanfroy and Balderic. The former, by the aid of Thierry, drove the latter from his throne. Thierry then claimed the reward for his services, and received only mockery from



FRANK WARRIOR.

Hermanfroy, who had taken refuge under the protection of Theodoric of Italy.

Meanwhile, Gondebaud of Burgundy had died, leaving the throne to his son Sigismond. The sons of Clotilda who had attained manhood, were entreated by that queen to avenge the wrongs she had suffered, by pouring out the blood of the son of her enemy, who could not have been involved in the crimes which stained his father's memory. Clodomir, King of Orleans, took the matter into his own charge, made war upon Sigismond, defeated him in battle, ravaged his territories, and compelled his subjects to deliver into his hands their king, with his wife and two sons. These were all murdered by command of Clodomir, and thrown into a well, which is still exhibited near Orleans. The unfortunate king was regarded as a martyr, both by the Franks and his own subjects, and the waters of the well into which his body was thrown, were long believed to possess miraculous powers—especially in the cure of fever. A second son of Gondebaud succeeded to the throne, and Clodomir commenced a second campaign against Hungary, which would have resulted in the overthrow of that kingdom, had not the savage eagerness of Clodomir lost for him the fruits of a brilliant victory. Pursuing the flying Hungarians, he suffered himself to outstrip most of his followers, and found himself suddenly surrounded by the enemy, who recognised him by his long hair and his resemblance to his father. They made him a prisoner, cut off his head, and elevated it on a pike as a standard, around which their countrymen rallied and renewed the fight. But the Franks became furious at the death of their king, and fiercely avenged him. The Burgundians were totally routed, and none who fell into the hands of the victors received quarter. Burgundy was reduced to a wilderness, but the fate of Sigismond had so excited the sympathy of the Burgundians, that they resolutely protected his brother Gondomar in all vicissitudes. On the withdrawal of the Franks, he reascended his throne, and swayed the sceptre as an independent sovereign.

The death of Theodoric removed the obstacle which had hitherto prevented the Frankish warriors from prosecuting the career of conquest which they had begun. Thuringia and Burgundy first felt the loss they had sustained. Thierry was well prepared to seize the opportunity which he had long desired, of crushing the power of the deceitful Hermanfroy. He invited Clotaire to assist him, and the united forces of the two kings inflicted upon the Thuringians a defeat of the most sanguinary description. The deep and dangerous ford of the Onstrud was filled with the bodies of the slain, so that victors and vanquished passed over as on a bridge. The people submitted, in order to avoid the total desolation which seemed to hang over their country, and Hermanfroy himself came to Thierry and threw himself upon his mercy. He was kindly received and even loaded with presents; but, a few days afterwards, an unknown hand pushed him into the fosse, as he was walking upon the ramparts of the town in which the Franks were quartered. The infamy of having executed or •



CLOTAIRE DISCOVERING THE ASSASSINS.

devised this scheme, was generally fastened upon him to whom it had been most useful, the King of Austrasia, and an anecdote related of him while he was yet in Thuringia, by a historian before quoted, clearly shows him to have been perfectly well fitted for the undertaking. Thierry sent for his brother Clotaire as though he wished to see him upon some important business. When the King of Soissons arrived, Thierry led him to a hall across which some tapestry had been hung, for the purpose of screening a party of armed men, who waited there for a signal for the execution of their murderous design. But the tapestry proved too scanty for its purpose; Clotaire saw the feet of the assassins peering from beneath, and instinctively clapped his hand upon his sword. Thierry saw that his design was discovered, and affected to treat the matter as a jest, arranged to frighten Clotaire. In order to convince him that fratricide had not been intended, he made him a present of a large silver bowl, with many protestations of affectionate solicitude and esteem.*

In the same year, Childebert, King of Paris, made war upon Amalaric of Septimania, who had married his sister Clotilda, and shamefully treated her

* Gregory of Tours.

on account of her adherence to the orthodox faith. He beat her one day so cruelly that she sent to her brother a handkerchief stained with her blood. A victory gained at Narbonne opened the gates of that city to Childebert, and Amalaric was slain at the foot of an Arian altar, to which he had fled for refuge. Childebert then set out for Paris, carrying with him his sister Clotilda; but the unhappy princess died upon the way from the injuries she had received from her husband and his subjects. Septimania remained independent under the rule of Theudis.

Thierry now wished to carry the war into Burgundy, without giving his brothers a share in the expedition; but his followers refused to accede to this scheme, which they deemed antinational. The spirit of discontent thus raised, was fast verging to revolt, and some plan must be devised to prevent them from renouncing their allegiance. Thierry cast his eyes on Auvergne, which had revolted while Childebert was warring against Septimania. The hope of plundering their fellow-subjects in the south, secured the wavering faith of the northern soldiers. The fertile plains bordering Provence were speedily overrun, and everything valuable was taken from the cities, the towns, and even the monasteries and churches. This expedition, undertaken at first only for the purpose of gratifying his followers with plunder, soon assumed the aspect of a serious war. Roused against oppressors who were determined to strip them of all they held dear in life, the Auvergnats proved dangerous foes. Thierry was compelled to retire from a conflict with the defenders of the castle of Outre, now Volore, though he afterwards gained possession of the place by treachery. But the fate of their countrymen of Outre, failed to dishearten the garrison of Merolias, who defended that fortress to the last extremity, notwithstanding the conduct of Thierry, who led fifty of their number, previously captured, to the foot of the walls, and threatened to decapitate them if the citadel were not surrendered. When all opposition seemed to be crushed, the war was suddenly revived by Munderic, one of the wealthiest and most powerful chiefs in the country, who claimed affinity with Clovis. He caused himself to be proclaimed king, and though beaten in the open field, he threw himself into the town of Vitoriacum, (Vitry in Champagne,) whence he defied the power of the Austrasians. Thierry enticed him to a conference without the walls, and there murdered him; but his followers, animated by despair, continued the war, till after the decease of Thierry. Feeling the approach of death, that king resigned the command to his brave son Theodebert, and retired to Metz, where he died (A.D. 534). Theodebert terminated the conflict by totally destroying his opponents.

Meanwhile important transactions had occurred in Burgundy. When Thierry marched to Auvergne, his brothers Clotaire and Childebert, with his son Theodebert, invaded Burgundy, captured Autun and Vienna, and defeated Gondomar in a general engagement. They then retired to their homes, and deferred the fate of Burgundy until a second invasion. This took place in



MURDER OF CLODOMIR'S CHILDREN.

532, when Gondomar was defeated and taken prisoner, and his dominions divided among the conquerors.

Between the first and the second invasions of Burgundy, Childebert conceived the design of annexing to his dominions half of those which had belonged to his brother Clodomir. At the death of that king, his children were quite young ; and they had been carefully educated by Queen Clotilda, with a view to their inheriting their father's kingdom. She took them one day to Paris, where Childebert then held his court, and he wrote to his brother Clotaire to con-

sult him on the propriety of taking from them the investiture of Orleans. Clotaire hastened from Soissons, and readily agreed to the diabolical conspiracy. They demanded the princes from Clotilda on the pretence that they ought to be presented to the people as their kings, and the queen joyfully resigned her guardianship. When the infants were in their power, the royal assassins despatched Arcadius to Clotilda with a sword and a pair of scissors, desiring her to choose the fate of her grandsons. Distracted by the cruelty of her inhuman sons, the queen hesitated not to sacrifice their lives rather than see them live dishonoured. She well knew that if deprived of their locks they would live as objects of scorn and contempt to the Franks. She therefore cried, "If they are not to reign like their father, I had rather see them dead than shorn." Their doom was sealed. Brought to their uncles, Clotaire seized the eldest, threw him on the floor and gave him a mortal wound in the armpit with his dagger. His brother threw himself at the feet of Childebert, who was moved to compassion by his cries, and joined with him in endeavouring to persuade Clotaire to spare his life. But pity and remorse never found a place in the heart of the savage Clotaire, who reproached his brother with having instigated him to the deed, and ordered him to cast off the prince or be slain himself. Then plunging his dagger in his side, he slew the child as he had slain his brother. The attendants of the princes, who had been confined in another part of the palace, shared the same fate. Clotaire then mounted his horse and rode off to his capital, while Childebert, whose heart was less callous, withdrew into the suburbs of Paris; and his mother placed the bodies of her grandsons in one coffin, and buried them in the tomb of their grandfather Clovis.

Justinian had become sole Emperor of the East on the death of his uncle Justin (A.D. 527). Theodora, his empress, was a woman of infamous character, whose vices exceeded all that were before known in the licentious city of Constantinople. A great part of that city was ruined by firebrands in the hands of the emperor's soldiers, when they were engaged in quelling a tumult. The disturbance originated in the circus, where two rival factions distinguished themselves by the colours worn by the charioteers, who competed for the prize of swiftness. The rioters overcame the troops, and held possession of the city for some days; but the *Blues* finally declared for the emperor, and against the *Greens*; a strong body of veterans was marched to the Hippodrome, or race-course, and peace was restored by the massacre of thirty thousand of the insurgents.

By accepting the submission of the Lazi, a tributary people of Persia, Justin provoked a rupture, the consequences of which were reaped by his nephew. Cabades commenced the war by attacking the Roman workmen employed in constructing a fortress beyond Dara. Belisarius, who was Prefect of the East, hastened to succour the place, and commenced his glorious career by a victory over the enemy. Armenia was next attacked by the Persians,

and Syria would have fallen into their hands, had not Belisarius saved it by marching towards Antioch. As it was, he lost one battle. Belisarius was superseded by Sittas, who could not force the enemy to abandon the siege of Martyropolis; the unexpected death of Cabades, however, gave a different direction to the court of Ctesiphon. Chosroes, menaced on the throne by a disinherited brother, acceded to proposals of peace; but the treaty of perpetual friendship, which the two sovereigns concluded, merely suspended the war for a time.

One of the chief projects of the reign of Justinian was the extension of the imperial power over all the Roman provinces that had fallen into the hands of the barbarians. He first turned his attention towards Africa, and availed himself, as a pretext, of the usurpation of Gelimer, who had at that time dethroned Hilderic. The once ferocious Vandals, then in possession of Africa, enervated by luxury and by the climate, promised an easy victory. Belisarius was appointed the commander of the imperial forces, and a large fleet was assembled in the harbour of Constantinople for the transportation of the army. Belisarius landed without opposition on the coast of Africa, advanced toward Carthage, defeated its defenders in a pitched battle, and captured the city itself. Gelimer made another effort to save his kingdom; but was defeated at Tricameron, and besieged in the castle into which he had fled for safety. The want of provisions compelled him to surrender unconditionally. But Belisarius experienced the usual fate of victorious generals. The voice of envy asserted that he intended to appropriate to himself the throne of the Vandals. Justinian meanly gave his ear to the aspersion, and submitted to his able general the alternative of remaining in the province or returning to the capital, a favour which Belisarius well understood. He resolved to confound his enemies by his presence and submission; his treasures, guards, and captives were instantly embarked, and his arrival at Constantinople gave to the emperor the first information of his leaving Carthage. Justinian's apprehensions were removed by the loyalty of his able general; the gratitude and admiration of the public silenced the voice of envy; and the honours of a triumph, a spectacle never before seen in Constantinople, were awarded to this third Africanus. The procession was conducted from the palace of Belisarius, through the principal streets, to the Hippodrome; the wealth of nations was displayed; the trophies of martial or effeminate luxury, rich armour, golden thrones, and the carriages of state, that had been used by the Vandal queen, royal furniture, precious stones, statues, vases, bullion, and coined gold, and the holy vessels of the Jewish temple, which were now deposited in the Christian church at Jerusalem. The great conqueror displayed his modesty and avoided the jealousy of his master by walking on foot at the head of his brave companions; a long train of the noblest Vandals exposed their handsome countenances and lofty stature, while a dress of purple and a majestic air pointed out the captive king Gelimer. He bore his reverses without sorrow, consoling himself by repeating the reflection of

Solomon, "Vanity! vanity! all is vanity!" The procession entered the gate of the Hippodrome, was saluted by the acclamations of the senate and people, and halted before the throne where the emperor was seated to receive the homage of the captive and the conqueror. They both performed the customary adoration, and falling prostrate on the ground, respectfully touched the footstool of the prince. Some gentle violence was used to bend the stubborn spirit of the grandson of Genseric; and, however trained to servitude, the genius of Belisarius must have secretly rebelled. He was immediately declared consul for the ensuing year, and the day of his inauguration resembled the pomp of a second triumph. His curule chair was borne aloft on the shoulders of captive Vandals, and the spoils of war, gold cups and rich girdles, were profusely scattered among the populace.*

The death of Athalaric, the young King of Italy, having deprived his mother Amalasontha of the power she had wielded during his lifetime, she procured the election of her cousin Theodatus, on his promise to divide with her the sovereign authority. Disappointed in her expectations, she was about to quit Italy, when she was arrested, thrown into prison, and put to death, by order of her ungrateful cousin. Justinian eagerly seized the opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the Goths, and the great Belisarius was selected as the instrument for driving them altogether from Italy. He first, however, entered into negotiation with the Franks, with a view of securing their assistance. Theodebert and the two sons of Clovis listened to his overtures, promised their aid, and distributed his bribes among their troops. Theodatus had already been succeeded by Vitiges, who also sought assistance from the Franks. He offered them, in return, the sovereignty of Provence and an extension of their southern frontier. The wily Franks accepted his bribes also, and promised their aid; but they finally resolved to remain neutral during the struggle, convinced that whoever might be successful, it would result in their gain. Theodebert was enriched beyond expectation, by the mere negotiations. Besides one-third of Provence, the country now inhabited by the Grisons was subjected to his dominion, and he was adopted by Justinian as his son. This substantial favour was very properly appreciated by Theodebert, who showed his gratitude for the kindness in a letter to the emperor, in which Justinian was styled "Father."

Meanwhile, Belisarius had commenced the war. While he made himself master of Naples and of Rome, his lieutenant, Mundilas, captured Milan. Vitiges now came again to Theodebert, and by liberal concessions secured his aid. The Austrasian king, notwithstanding his promise to his "father," the emperor, sent ten thousand Burgundians (not Franks) over the Alps, into Italy. He caused these auxiliaries to march in detached bands, without chiefs, not as disciplined troops, but as raw volunteers. In Italy they reunited under

* Gibbon.

their leaders, and assisted Vitiges to retake Milan. A most fearful vengeance was inflicted on its garrison and inhabitants; more than 300,000 males are said to have been massacred in the sack of the city; the Burgundians receiving for their share of the spoils all the women and girls, who were sold into slavery. But the rapacity of these mercenary allies gave such trouble to Vitiges that he became tired of their aid, and solicited Theodebert to recall them, and aid him henceforth by his neutrality. The Austrasian, however, intended to secure for himself the kingdom of Theodoric; and he therefore construed this demand as a subject of offence, and announced his determination to proceed to Italy in person, to end the war which consumed it. Both of the combatants heard, without alarm, of his advance to the Po at the head of a hundred thousand men, for he had led each to expect in him an ally. They were encamped near each other, between Pavia and Tortona, the Ostrogoths being nearest to the Franks. When Theodebert came up with them, the soldiers of Vitiges opened their ranks to receive him, and were thrown into irretrievable confusion by the attack made upon them by their supposed friends. They were driven into the very midst of the imperial troops; who, not doubting that the presents of Justinian had won the Franks over to his cause, joined with the victors in the pursuit. Vitiges escaped with his life, and threw himself into the fortress of Ravenna. Theodebert, by turning on the Romans, showed them that he had undertaken the expedition on his own account. Most of the imperialists threw down their arms, and dispersed for refuge in the towns and cities of Tuscany. The provinces of Liguria and Æmilia were overrun and plundered by the victors. Genoa, with other cities, was captured and ruined. Want of provisions, however, induced them to return to Austrasia, heavily laden with the rich spoils of both Goths and Romans. Justinian pretended that his arms had forced them to retire, and assumed the title of Conqueror of the Franks. Theodebert was so much offended at his arrogance that he proposed to unite with the Goths, and with five hundred thousand men to march to the very gates of Constantinople. But the King of the Goths was obliged to remain cooped up in Ravenna, until by poisoning the water and firing the granaries of the town, Belisarius induced him to surrender, on condition that Italy should remain an independent kingdom, under the sceptre of the Roman general.*

Meanwhile, Theodebert had become engaged in a war between his uncles, Clotaire and Childebert. He succeeded in suddenly surrounding the army of Clotaire, who had invaded the territories of Childebert, and compelling him to seek safety in the forest of Arelaunium. While there, he totally escaped a terrific storm, which carried destruction and death into the camp of his brother. Fearing that they had all incurred the Divine wrath, the belligerents made peace, much to the joy of the aged queen Clotilda, who had prayed unceasingly for

* Pictorial History of France.



SIEGE OF ZARAGOSSA.

the establishment of amicable relations. In 543, the restless Clotaire joined his brother in a war against the Visigoths in Spain. It commenced under the most favourable auspices. Pampeluna surrendered; and Biscay, Navarre, and Catalonia were overrun and ravaged. Zaragoza was besieged, but escaped plunder in a marvellous manner. Being unable, from the want of provisions, to maintain the defence, the inhabitants, clothed in sackcloth, made a solemn procession round the walls of their city, singing psalms and hymns, and invoking the protection of their patron, Saint Vincent. They carried at their

head, and elevated as a standard, the tunic of the saint. The Franks perceived this procession from their encampment; and the sombre dresses of the actors, and the groups of women, with dishevelled hair and plaintive cries, who closed it, caused them to suppose that it was some incantation of Arian witchcraft. But when they learned the truth from a peasant, whom they took as he was attempting to quit the town, they respected the piety of the people, and the memory of the saint, and consented to raise the siege. In return for his forbearance, Childebart solicited and obtained the consecrated tunic, which he took with him on his return to Paris, where he founded for its preservation the celebrated abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés.*

In the following year, 544, the Franks destroyed the army of the Septimanian Goths; but the war appears to have been undertaken only for pillage and the indulgence of a passion for military exercise. The independence of Septimania was still maintained, and the Franks and Visigoths preserved their former boundaries. In Italy, meanwhile, hostilities were continued between the Ostrogoths and the imperialists. Vitiges had been led a prisoner to Constantinople, and Belisarius was sent to conduct the Persian war. After experiencing a variety of fortune, according as his own bravery, the misconduct of his infamous wife, or the jealousy of Justinian, gained the ascendancy, he was sent back to Italy to recover the territory lost by his unskilful successors. In eight months, two new sovereigns had been seated on the Gothic throne, both of whom were assassinated. A soldier of considerable skill having been elevated by his countrymen to the rank of king, was making rapid progress towards the re-establishment of the power of Theodoric. He defeated an imperial army numbering nearly four times his force, reduced the greater part of Lower Italy to subjection, captured and pillaged Rome, and then abandoned it. Belisarius re-entered it, planted the Roman eagle on its walls, and prepared for a decisive struggle.

Both parties sought the aid of Theodebert, but he had determined to adopt the same policy which he had formerly pursued with so much success. He sent his general, Bucelin, with a strong army into Italy, with orders to treat both Ostrogoths and imperialists as enemies. He was joined by seventy-five thousand Allemanni, and the amount of booty which his soldiers sent home to France and Germany was immense. The Frank monarch, encouraged by his success, threatened to punish the emperor for his arrogance in assuming the title of Conqueror of the Franks, by investing his capital city, Constantinople. But his death (A.D. 547) prevented the execution of this design. In the same year, Clotilda, the widow of Clovis, died, and was buried at Paris, in the same tomb with her husband, her daughter, and her murdered grandsons. The imbecile Theodebald succeeded his father; his accession was marked by the destruction of his forces in Italy. The Allemanni had marched to deposite their

* Pictorial History of France.

booty in Northern Italy; but a plague broke out among them on the banks of Lake Benacus, and swept away the greater part of his army. Bucelin had, therefore, to contend alone for the mastery over Italy; but he was defeated and slain in an engagement with the eunuch Narses, who had succeeded Belisarius in the command of the imperial forces. Before defeating the Franks, Narses had fought a battle with Totila, in which the valiant Goth was defeated and slain. His successor, Teias, made a fruitless attempt to renew the war; he was slain in a battle which lasted two whole days, and which totally ruined the power of the Ostrogoths. The Franks having now lost all their conquests in Italy, the country was again annexed to the dominions of the Emperor of the Romans. (A. D. 553.)



DEATH OF CHRAMME.

Theodebald died in the same year, and Clotaire seized the greatest part of his possessions. Chilbert revenged himself by inciting Chramme, Clotaire's eldest son, to rebel against his father, and claim Austrasia for himself. Chramme was a debauched and profligate young man, in comparison with whose other vices, rebellion was a crime of little magnitude. A Saxon war, of which little is known, engaged Clotaire on the banks of the Rhine, and Chramme took advantage of this circumstance to unite with Chilbert. But the death of that king (A. D. 558) put an end to his hopes of effectual resistance, and he sought and obtained forgiveness from his father. Two years afterwards, however, he fled from the court of his father, and found refuge with his wife and two infant daughters, at the court of Canao, King of Brittany. This was a new

monarchy which had sprung into existence since the death of Clovis; it consisted of the remnant of the old Armorican confederation, and numbers of British refugees from the Saxon invaders. Clotaire marched against Canao, who made an attack upon his army, but was defeated, Chramme being forced to seek safety in flight. He reached the seashore, where he had engaged a vessel to carry him to another land; but he awaited the arrival of his wife and children, a delay which proved fatal to him. They had fallen into the hands of a band of Franks, who subsequently made him a prisoner. The whole family was enclosed in a small hut, bound to the timbers to prevent their escape, and burned to death with the building. (A. D. 560.)

Two years after the death of Chramme, Clotaire himself died, leaving his kingdom to be divided between his four sons, Caribert, Gontran, Chilperic, and Sigebert. The division of their inheritance caused a civil war between the brothers. Chilperic commenced hostilities as soon as his father's corpse was buried. Hastening from the funeral ceremonies at Soissons to Braine, where Clotaire had had his favourite residence, he seized the royal treasures, had them brought from the subterranean chambers in which they had been kept, and induced the Franks of the neighbourhood to proclaim him sole king, by freely distributing the wealth of his father. But his brothers united against him, and compelled him, after a short struggle, to be content with a proper share of the realm.

While the conquests of Belisarius were restoring to Justinian the western provinces of the Roman empire, the north-eastern frontiers were ravaged almost with impunity. Fearing to meet the hordes of the Gepidæ in the field, the emperor gave to the Longobardi, or Lombards, a settlement in Pannonia; and the empire was protected from the invasions of both hordes by a war which raged between them for forty years. But the Slavonians and Bulgarians annually purchased a passage through the territories of the Gepidæ, and made inroads into Southern Greece; and the new and formidable barbarian races of the Avars and the Turks, began to make themselves known to the people of the Eastern Empire.

The Avars, from an unknown age, possessed the mountains and deserts in North-eastern Asia, bordering on Lake Baikal. Under a monarch named Tulun, they advanced southward, extending their empire to the sea which separates Corea from Japan. This monarch took the name Chakan, or Chagan, still used on the coins of the Turkish sultans. But civil wars broke out among the Avars; rival tribes from the north assailed them, and a new horde overthrew their empire and totally destroyed their power. This was the nation of the Turks, called by the Chinese, *Thi'kpiú*. They had been originally the slaves of the Avars; they inhabited the great Altaian mountains, and were engaged in fabricating armour and weapons, in working the mines and attending the forges. With Thumen for their leader, they asserted their independence, and made slaves of their former masters. During the reigns of



CHILPERIC DIVIDING HIS FATHER'S TREASURES.

Thumen and his successor Dizabul, the Turkish dominions were extended from the Volga to the Sea of Japan. They were thus brought into possession of the countries through which the silk trade was carried, and commercial relations began to subsist between the Turks, the Persians, and the Byzantines. In their career of conquest, the Turks overthrew the nation of the Ogors, or Varchonites, who then migrated toward Europe, by the route of the Volga. They called themselves Avars, because that name was still so formidable as to awaken terror in their opponents.*

* Taylor.

Chosroes, the Persian monarch, was the great rival of Justinian. He would most probably have again extended the power of Persia over the whole country ruled by Cyrus, had not the Eastern Emperor brought Belisarius into the field against him. When the jealousy of the emperor removed that general from the command, Chosroes urged forward his conquests with alarming rapidity; Belisarius was reinstated, and the Persian was forced to retire.

While Narses was reducing Italy, Belisarius had been restored to his proper rank, and sent to defend the empire from an invasion of the Bulgarians. He gained a decisive victory; but the intrigues of the courtiers prevented him from following up his advantages. By the payment of a large ransom for their captives, the Bulgarians were induced to retire over the Danube, and Justinian claimed the gratitude of his subjects for their deliverance. Belisarius, the prop of the emperor's power, was soon after disgraced and imprisoned on a false charge of treason. His innocence was subsequently proved, and he was restored to freedom; but grief and resentment hurried him to the grave, and the rapacious emperor took possession of his treasures. Eight months afterward Justinian followed him, scarcely regretted by his subjects.

Under the reign of Justinian and by his direction, all the imperial laws that had been enacted since the accession of Adrian, were collected into a single volume, the *Code*. The enormous chaos of ancient decisions was also reduced to order, in a work called the *Pandects*, arranged in fifty books, and containing all that was useful in ancient jurisprudence. Besides these, an elementary work on jurisprudence was prepared, as an introduction to the study of the law. This, which is the most valuable of all the works of Justinian, was named the *Institutes*. The *Institutes*, the *Pandects*, and the *Code* thus comprised the whole system of ancient Roman jurisprudence; and formed, according to the statement of the emperor, a holy and august temple, in which justice should pronounce her oracles. Justinian reserved to himself, in express terms, the right of adding subsequently and separately, such constitutions as he should judge necessary. These were called *Novels*: they limit, extend, and in some instances repeal the *Code*; in the last year of the emperor's reign they were collected into a volume. The principal agent in the preparation of these works was Tribonian, a very eminent lawyer, and a corrupt judge. Being accustomed to sell justice, he found no difficulty in altering, suppressing, or perverting many excellent laws. The inconsistency of many of the emperor's *Novels* with the laws of the *Code*, lead to the suspicion that the emperor and his legal adviser were guided by interest and favour rather than by reason and equity.

The *Basilica*, or Greek constitutions of later emperors, supplanted Justinian's *Code* in the East, and Illyria was the only province in the West that received it, until the overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy. There it was soon superseded by the laws of the Lombards. When Charlemagne had overthrown the Lombard monarchy, he searched Italy in vain for a copy of the legislation of Justinian. In the twelfth century, the troops of the emperor Lothaire II.

found a copy of the Digest in the city of Amalfi, which was presented as a reward for services to the citizens of Pisa. At a later period, a copy of the Code was found in Ravenna; and the Novels, which were dispersed throughout Italy, were gathered into a collection. "Such were the origin and revolutions of this celebrated body of legislation, the source of the civil laws throughout Europe, and the great guide to the most civilized nations, in supplying the defects of their several legal systems."*

Justinian, anxious to obtain for his subjects a certain supply of silk without subjecting the commerce of the Byzantines to the exactions of his enemies, endeavoured to wrest from the Persians some portion of their trade. In this



JUSTINIAN AND THE MONKS.

attempt he failed; but about the middle of the sixth century, when least expected, the object of his hopes was placed within his reach. The labours of the silk-worms, and the method of rearing them, had been accurately observed by two Persian monks, while performing their duties as Christian missionaries, under the direction of some of the churches established in India. They communicated their information to Justinian, who, by liberal promises, induced them to undertake the task of introducing the cultivation of silk into his capital. They proceeded to China and returned with a competent supply of the eggs of the silk-worm, concealed in a hollow cane. The eggs were hatched, and the insects fed upon

* Taylor.

the leaves of the wild mulberry-tree. Success attended the labours of Justinian and his pious assistants, and the worms increased so rapidly that the emperor opened the trade. In 571, scarcely twenty years after the discovery of the monks, the Turks, having learned from their tributaries, the Sogdians, that the carrying-trade had greatly fallen off, sent a commission to Constantinople to form a commercial treaty with the Byzantines. The astonishment of the ambassadors can scarcely be conceived when they found the people of Constantinople well supplied with silk of their own growth, and already rivaling the manufactures of China.

Sigebert, King of Austrasia, had scarcely received the homage of his new subjects before his presence was required beyond the Rhine, to repel an invasion of Thuringia by the Avars. They had left their homes in Mœsia, in the hope of acquiring rich booty, by plundering the territory of the Franks. But their wild and formidable looks, which had awed the effeminate soldiers of Justinian, produced no effect on the stout-hearted Austrasians, who offered battle as soon as they met. Sigebert fought on foot at the head of his army, and succeeded in driving the invaders back. Four years afterwards, however, they returned to the attack, and achieved a complete victory. But they failed to make a conquest or settlement, and the battle would seem to have led to a friendly intercourse between the two armies. Sigebert having fallen into their hands a prisoner, they were struck with his manly beauty, and gave him his freedom and many presents. In return, Sigebert provided them with the means of subsistence during their return to their own country.

The desire of protecting the frontiers of the empire from the Gepidæ, had induced the emperor to allow the Lombards to settle on them. Thrace enjoyed comparative tranquillity while they warred with each other; but when Alboin came to the Lombard throne, he united with the Avars, for the purpose of crushing the enemies of his nation. The emperor, Justin II., unwisely abandoned the Gepidæ to their fate. Their king, Cunimund, was defeated and slain, and his skull was formed into a drinking-cup by his barbarous enemy. Rosamond, the daughter of the slaughtered king, was forced to become the spouse of the victor, and the bravest of the surviving Gepidæ were incorporated with the Lombard troops. The Avars received the territory of Dacia, with a large share of the spoils, for their assistance during the war. Alboin fixed his ambition on a higher object. The wealth and fertility of Italy had attracted the attention of a body of the Lombards, who had served under Narses in that country, and Alboin induced them to hope that this fair land might be their own. He recalled its advantages to their minds by producing some of its finest fruits at a feast. His designs were approved by his subjects, and the neighbouring German and Slavonic tribes sent many adventurers to join his standard. When ready to set out, the Lombards resigned their lands to the Avars, who promised to return them if their friends should fail in the conquest of Italy. As if to insure success to Alboin, the Empress Sophia

removed the skilful Narses from his office of exarch, and appointed Longinus in his stead.

The Lombards found no army to oppose them in the field, and few even of the cities resisted Alboin's progress. Pavia closed her gates against him, and detained him three years before its walls. Famine at length forced it to surrender; and its inhabitants would have been put to a general massacre, had not the horse of Alboin stumbled as he was entering the gates. He believed that Heaven had sent him an omen to warn him against cruelty, and he granted pardon and safety to the vanquished. He died, however, before he could regulate the affairs of his new kingdom. One evening, maddened with wine, he sent to his wife Rosamond the drinking-cup which had been made of the skull of her father, filled to the brim, and commanded her to rejoice with her sire. She was obliged to obey; but she vowed to wipe out the insult in the blood of its author. The indulgence of an adulterous passion was added to the desire of vengeance, and Alboin was murdered (A.D. 573).

Clepho was chosen to succeed him; but he was stabbed by a domestic at the end of eighteen months. His cruelty had given to his subjects a dislike to royalty, and they changed the government to a federative form. This lasted for ten years, during which the Lombards were generally successful in Italy, but failed in all their attempts upon the Franks. Their first expedition of this kind was undertaken in 570. The army sent against them by Gontran was defeated; and they proceeded through the country until the accumulation of

their spoil made it necessary for them to return. They soon undertook a second expedition. Gontran sent against them Ennius, surnamed Mummol, an able general. He defeated them near Embrun, and nearly all of them were captured.

The defeat of these adventurers did not discourage others from following their example. An army of Saxons that had assisted Alboin, crossed the Alps in the following year, animated by a thirst for vengeance and booty. They encamped near Estoublous, in Provence, and commenced pillaging the country. Mummol attacked them and forced them to leave their conquests, after abandoning the spoils they had taken. In the year 574, two hundred thousand Saxons entered the country, and advanced along the banks of the Rhine toward the centre of the Frankish dominions. At Lyons they found a large army under Mummol, prepared to repel their advances. A battle



SAXON WARRIOR.

ensued, in which the Saxons were routed with the loss of all their booty. On their retreat they attempted to avenge their loss upon the people of Auvergne; but the Auvergnats ransomed such of their friends as were captured with pieces of copper gilt, which the barbarians took for real gold. On their return to their own country, the Saxons found that the Suevi had established themselves there; and many battles and much bloodshed took place before they could be brought to divide, amicably, possessions which were sufficiently ample for both.

The Saxons having left France, the Lombards appeared again upon the scene. In 576, Amon, Zaban, and Rhodan, three chiefs who had distinguished themselves in Italy, each led a large army over the Alps. Rhodan halted before Grenoble, while Zaban went to besiege Valence, and Amon displayed his banners under the walls of Arles. From the plain of La Crau, the invaders drove all the flocks of the high Alps, which usually pastured there in bad seasons; and, but for Mummol, the inhabitants would have been left desolate. Rhodan was first attacked. He was wounded in the battle, but escaped with five hundred men into Italy. The remainder of his army perished on the field. Zaban was at this time on the return home, but Mummol outstripped him in speed, and cut his army to pieces in the neighbourhood of Embrun. Amon learning the fate of his countrymen, would not risk an engagement; but threw himself into one of the Alpine gorges, hoping to reach the Lombard plains by an unknown route. But the eternal snows of the mountains proved graves to the greater number of his followers, and all the booty which he had collected was abandoned. These repeated disasters made the Lombards more cautious in their hostility toward the Franks; and shortly afterwards their attention was engrossed too exclusively by their domestic troubles, to allow them any advantage from the dissensions and wars of their neighbours.*

In 562, during the first campaign of Sigebert against the Avars, his brother Chilperic, who inherited a large share of the inhumanity of his father, embraced the opportunity to make himself master of Rheims and several other towns that had fallen to the share of his brother. Sigebert, as soon as he had freed himself of the Avars, turned upon and captured Soissons, with its defender Theodebert, son of Chilperic. He afterwards defeated Chilperic himself, took from him the dominions he had captured, and would have deprived him of his kingdom, but for the interposition of his two brothers. Soissons was finally restored to its owner; but Theodebert was not set at liberty until he had taken an oath never to bear arms against his uncle.

Caribert, King of Paris, was addicted to the practice of polygamy. A damsel named Meroflède, the daughter of a wool-comber, with her sister, and not less than four other women, were accounted as his wives. His brother Chilperic also had several wives and many mistresses, of whom the most celebrated was Frédégonde. This favourite supplanted, in the affections of the

* Pictorial History of France.

king, the Queen Audovère, who had raised her from the most humble station, by taking her into her service. Sigebert demanded in marriage Brunehaut, the daughter of Athanagilde, the King of the Visigoths in Spain. Chilperic then sued for the hand of Brunehaut's sister, and, in order to obtain her, put away all his other wives and concubines. Frédégonde, however, did not leave the palace; she succeeded in winning back the love of the king, and so estranged him from his wife, that the latter demanded permission to return to her father. But she had brought to her husband a very valuable dowry, which he would be obliged to restore at her dismissal. His pride and his avarice both urged him to refuse her request: he endeavoured, without success, to soothe and console her with words and promises; and finally gave directions for disposing of her to a slave, who took charge of her chamber for one night. In the morning she was found dead; the king mourned for her a few days, and then married Frédégonde.



BRUNEHAUT.

Brunehaut instigated her husband to avenge the murder of her sister; and he united his arms with those of his brother Gontran for that purpose. Chilperic was compelled to fly to Burgundy, the inhabitants of which had proclaimed their independence and elected a king. On promising to give to Brunehaut the possessions which he had received with her sister, Chilperic was allowed to return to his capital. Caribert had died some time since, and his possessions had been divided among his brothers. Sigebert, returning from the war with the Avars, found Gontran again engaged in repelling the Saxons and

the Lombards. He took advantage of his distresses by seizing the important city of Arles. Chilperic entered the province of the Loire, whence he was soon driven by Mummol. In 573 he renewed the struggle, and was again beaten. He then united his forces with those of Gontran against Sigebert, who awaited the advance of his German allies, in order to be able more fully to retaliate the atrocities which his revengeful brothers were committing. He induced Gontran to leave his ally to his fate; defeated and slew Theodebert near Angoulême; reduced Chilperic to submission, and marched triumphantly through Neustria. His wife, Brunehaut, hastened with her three children to Paris, in order to share in her husband's triumph, and threw the weight of her influence into the scale against the murderer of her sister. The fate of Chilperic seemed finally decided. Sigebert denounced death against him, and forthwith proclaimed himself King of Soissons. He received everywhere the homage of his brother's subjects, who immediately hastened to



abandon the cause of a prince who seemed now to be effectually deposed. But though the arms and entreaties of Chilperic had failed to procure for him the mercy of his brother, the genius of Frédégonde was successfully exerted to save him from destruction. She had been aroused by the triumphant insults of Brunehaut, and had determined to compass the destruction of both Sigebert and his queen. To make sure of the success of her plan, she poisoned the daggers with which she armed her agents. These, under pretence of important business, gained access to the king in the midst of his army, and ended his reign and his existence by striking him with their long daggers. (A.D. 575.) As soon as he was dead, the Neustrians renewed their fidelity to Chilperic, and the Austrasian army was disbanded. Frédégonde despatched immediate orders to Paris to seize Brunehaut and her children; and, when this was done, Chilperic was proclaimed King of Austrasia. In the confusion which followed, Childebert, the eldest son of Sigebert, was aided in escaping from his prison by Gondebaud, who hastened with him to his father's capital, and caused him, on Christmas day, to be proclaimed king. As he was but a child, and the exigencies of the times required able ministers to guide and direct his kingdom, the Austrasians appointed a *Mayor of the Palace*, who was empowered to perform the functions of royalty, in the king's name; and who, by keeping a perpetual guard over his royal ward, managed to reduce the real authority of the sovereign to insignificance. Thus was commenced the reign of the *Rois fainéants*, or sluggards, the subversion of whose dominion finally put an end to the Merovingian dynasty.

Brunehaut, banished to Rouen, lived in continual dread of the cruelty of Frédégonde. While at Paris she had been seen by Merovæus, a son of Chilperic, by his former queen, Audovère, who now took advantage of her vicinity to his mother's residence in Mans, to pay the widowed queen a visit. He went to Rouen at Easter in 576, and offered himself in marriage to the beautiful queen, who accepted him in the hope that she would thus obtain a means of revenging herself upon Frédégonde. But proper secrecy was not observed; the news of the wedding was immediately carried to Soissons, and the act of his son was represented to Chilperic as the commencement of a rebellion. Flying to Rouen, the king surprised the bride and bridegroom, sent the latter a prisoner to Soissons, and gave to the former her liberty, supposing that she would immediately seek the protection of her father. But she fled to Metz, and animated the Austrasians to defend their country against Chilperic, who came against it, breathing implacable enmity towards Brunehaut and Childebert. Mummol met him at Linoges, cut to pieces twenty thousand of his warriors, and forced him to make a disgraceful peace.

Chilperic now vented his spleen upon the unfortunate Merovæus. He threw him into prison, cut off his long hair, divorced him from his wife, ordained him as a priest, and sent him under guard to the abbey of St. Calais, in Maine. On the way he escaped from his escort, and fled to the sanctuary

of St. Martin in Tours, where Bishop Gregory afforded him protection. Chilperic demanded the delivery of the refugee, but the good old Gregory refused. Chilperic then denied the right of the church to withhold criminals from justice, and wrote a letter to Saint Martin for a decision on the subject. He deposited it with the necessary materials for writing an answer, on the tomb of the martyr; but the good bishop disdained to practise the usual chicanery of the priests, and the letter remained unanswered. Merovæus also consulted supernatural agencies. A celebrated magician had predicted the year, the day, and the hour of the death of Caribert, King of Paris. He now informed the prince that, in one year, Chilperic would be in the grave, Merovæus on the throne, and his brothers in prison.

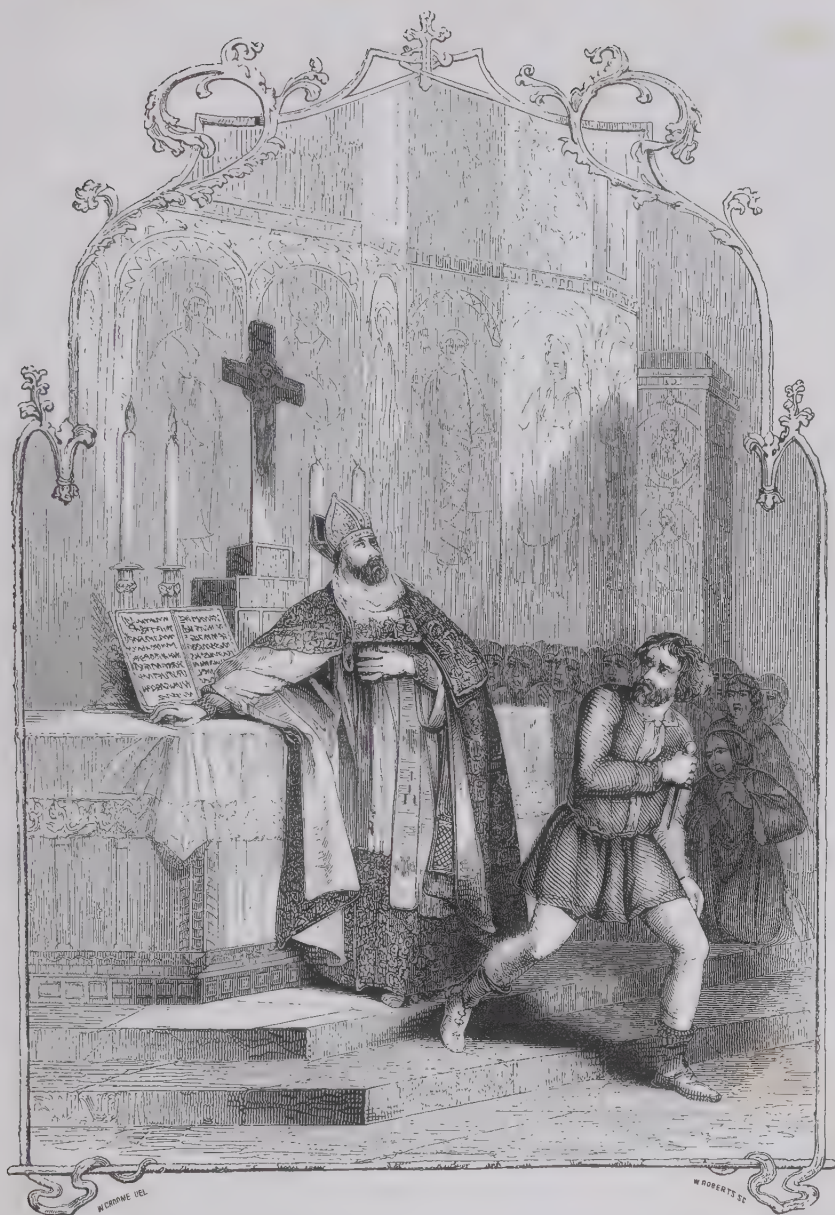
A blind confidence in the truth of this prediction, caused the destruction of the superstitious prince. Narrowly escaping several attempts made by Frédégonde's agents to capture or assassinate him, Merovæus escaped to Brunehaut, at Metz. She received him kindly, but the Austrasians commanded him to leave the kingdom. Lingerling near Rheims, he received a deputation from the people of Théroutanne, requesting him to come as sovereign to their city, and assuring him that the whole country was ready to take arms in his defence. He set out for the city; but on the way the pretended ambassadors proved to be his gaolers, acting under the orders of Frédégonde, who directed him to be slain. When Chilperic, informed of his capture, came to see him, he found him dead.

By the influence of the queen, Pretextat, Bishop of Rouen, was deprived of his office, and banished to the Isle of Jersey, as a punishment for having performed the marriage ceremony at the nuptials of Merovæus. After the death of Chilperic, he returned to Rouen, and resumed his episcopal functions; but the hatred of the queen had not abated. Soon after his return, as he was chanting mass in the cathedral, before a large congregation, an assassin made his way through the crowd to the altar, and plunged a dagger into the right breast of the bishop. Such was the surprise or indifference of the people, that the culprit, though seen and known, was suffered to escape, while the bishop fell "at the foot of the altar, staining the pavement with his welling blood."*

In 580, Frédégonde having lost her three sons by sickness, and maddened at the thought that Clovis, another son of Chilperic and Audovère, would succeed to his father's power, accused him of having poisoned her children. Chilperic caused the unoffending prince to be arrested and murdered, and his sister was forced to take the veil. Audovère herself, after having seen the destruction of her family, fell a victim to the vices of the ungrateful woman whom she had raised to power.

In 577, Gontran having lost both of his own sons, adopted Childebert, and

* Pictorial History of France.



DEATH OF BISHOP PRETEXTAT.

declared himself Protector of Austrasia. The union of these two princes prevented Chilperic from waging war with either of them. But he sought a quarrel with Varoc of Brittany, who, ready for the contest, speedily overran Poitou with his troops. Chilperic suffered defeat in this war, and was nearly ruined, when by an opportune alliance with Childebert, he terminated hostilities, gaining from Gontran several places which had interfered with the compactness of his dominions. All things seemed now to prosper with the husband of Frédégonde; but the



FRÉDEGONDE.

passions of his queen involved her in difficulties, and caused her husband's destruction. He accidentally discovered an intrigue which she maintained with a lover named Landry, and he withdrew from her presence to fall a victim to her fears. He was murdered as he dismounted from his horse, on returning from the chase. His hand was still resting on the shoulder of an attendant, when a strange man suddenly sprung upon him, and inflicted several wounds with a dagger. He fell to the ground, with the blood gushing from his wounds and his mouth, and died before he could be removed into the house.

Frédégonde, taking her infant son, and all the money and jewels she was able to collect, sought sanctuary in the cathedral at Paris. She immediately applied herself to gain the affections of the Parisians, by the liberal employment of gold and good words, and wrote an appeal to Gontran on behalf of "a realm without a master, and a young prince of four months old, whom his mother dared not confide to others." Gontran listened to her prayer, and hastened to Paris to defend the infant thus confided to his guardianship. As he entered one gate of the city with a band of faithful followers, Childebert appeared at the other, expecting to derive some benefit from the unsettled state of affairs. The Parisians refused to admit him into the city; and a civil war would have ensued, had not other troubles arose which demanded the whole attention of both the rival kings.

A woman had once brought into the notice of the Austrasian king, Gondovald, an infant, whom she asserted to be a son of Clotaire I., and whose hair she had suffered to fall on his shoulders, like that of the princes of the royal line. But Clotaire refused to acknowledge him, and caused his hair to be cut off; and the Franks applied to him the derisive title of *Ballomez*, or "mock prince." He afterwards went to Italy, where he married a wealthy Greek lady, and then removed with her to Constantinople. Some Austrasian ambassadors to that city, saw him and induced him to resume his claims upon the Franks. When he landed in France in 582, he was joined by Mummol,

Gontran Bosan, Didier, and others. Their example favoured his progress, and he was speedily crowned as their king by the people of Aquitaine. As, according to custom, he was being carried round the camp on a shield, his foot slipped, and he nearly lost his equilibrium. The superstitious Franks regarded this omen as unfortunate; but Mummol and the other leaders forwarded his cause, and nearly all the native authorities in the south enlisted themselves under his banner. Toulouse and Bordeaux fell into his hands, and he was preparing to press forward in a second campaign and finish the war, when a Burgundian army checked his advances by capturing the city of Poitiers. All the tortures known to the age were applied to punish the inhabitants for their rejection of the Merovingian rulers; and the pillage was carried to such excess, that the bishop was forced to break a chalice belonging to the altar service, and share its pieces among the soldiery.

An unexpected alliance between Gontran and Childebert disconcerted all the plans of the insurgents, and spread terror throughout their camp. Didier, with his vassals, deserted the standard of Gondoald, who was forced to seek for safety in Couvennes, a town built by Pompey, on the top of a steep mountain. The people prepared to sustain a siege; but Mummol did not wish to feed them, and therefore sent them to meet the enemy, who, he said, had arrived in a neighbouring plain. When they returned they found their own gates shut against them; and the Burgundians now really arriving, heightened their misery.

Gondoald paid dearly for suffering this act of perfidy to be done in his name. The besiegers were unable to accomplish their designs by force, their engineers pronouncing the place impracticable; but their gold proved more efficient than their arms. A Burgundian emissary succeeded in bribing Mummol to desert his master, whose cause was evidently desperate; and the subordinate chiefs followed the example of their leader. In a general council they advised Gondoald to submit himself to his brother's direction, promising to intercede for him. He saw from this that he had been betrayed; and he calmly signified his assent to their plans. He suffered himself to be conducted from the town and delivered into the custody of Ollon, Count of Burgundy, and Gontran Bosan, who had long since deserted his cause. As soon as they had delivered him up, Mummol and his follower retired into the citadel and closed the gates, while the unfortunate prince began to descend the mountain with his merciless enemies. On the way he was struck from behind by Ollon, who exclaimed, "Behold your Ballomez, the son and brother of kings." He was immediately pierced in the side by a lance thrust beneath his cuirass. He endeavoured to rise, but Bosan seized a large stone, hurled it upon his head, and crushed him to death. His barbarous enemies dragged his body by a rope through the camp, plucked out his hair and beard, and finally left his mangled body to be devoured by birds and beasts of prey in the plains.

The faithless conduct of those who had tempted the unfortunate Gondo-



vald from his peaceful home in Constantinople, was now rewarded. The gates of the city were opened at dawn on the following day, and the chiefs prepared to depart. But the besiegers immediately commenced a fearful massacre, in which the aged chief, Mummol, perished, with all the warriors, priests, citizens, women, and children, who had abode in Couvennes during the siege. When the sword could find no more victims, the town was set on fire and reduced to a mass of blackened stones.

This tragedy made a lasting impression upon the Aquitanians, strengthening their hatred against their conquerors, and teaching them their power when animated by a firm and patriotic spirit. We soon after find notices of sovereigns of Aquitaine independent of those of Neustria and Austrasia.

It has been asserted that Frédégonde had sent messengers to Gondovald inviting him to come to Paris, and that her action was reported to Gontran. However true this may be, that king altered his conduct towards her after this event, and determined to humiliate her. He appointed a council of regency to direct the government, compelled Frédégonde to withdraw to the castle of Vaudreuil, four leagues from Rouen, inquired into the circumstances of the death of Chilperic, and brought to popular recollection the death of Prince Chilperic, and of Merovæus. He finally, but without success, attempted to establish the illegitimacy of the young prince, Clotaire II. In the mean time, every opportunity of enlarging her power had been seized by Brunehaut.

When her young son was sixteen years of age, she persuaded him to dismiss his council of regency, and intrust the care of the whole government to herself. The leaders consented to this the more readily, as she already possessed much of the real power, and would be a dangerous opponent in a civil war. Her first step was a declaration of war against the King of the Visigoths. The other two Frankish monarchies were joined with Austrasia in this expedition, the whole being under the command of Gontran. It was entirely unsuccessful; and the commander was fain to conclude a treaty of peace (A. D. 588), which imposed on him the condition of relinquishing all attempts upon Septimania.

Before Gontran had set out, two other wars had been kindled; one with the Bretons, the other with the Lombards. The former drove back their invaders with disgrace and loss, and retaliated by continual predatory incursions into the territory of Neustria. In 590, the King of Orleans, as guardian for Clotaire II., sent two armies to punish them for their aggressions. But Varoc, retreating after a battle with one division, led his pursuers into the midst of a morass, and then turned furiously upon them and entirely defeated them. The leaders of the other party concluded a treaty of mutual forbearance with Varoc, which was not observed. As the army was beginning the passage of the river Ouh, on its way home, it was attacked by Cannao, the son of Varoc. Those who were already over escaped, but four-fifths of the whole number perished, either by the swords of the assailants, or by drowning in the river. Four years afterwards, the indomitable Bretons repelled another Frankish invasion, considerably extended their frontier, and added to their dominions several important towns that had hitherto paid tribute to Frankish rulers.

About the year 586, the emperor, Maurice of Constantinople, concluded a treaty with Chilbert, in which, for fifty thousand pieces of gold, the Frank king undertook to settle a quarrel of his own, under the show of reducing the Lombards to the imperial rule. But he disregarded his engagements, and followed the example of Theodebert, in treating friend and foe alike. Both sides finally agreed to pay him more for his neutrality than he could have expected for the most active co-operation. But the Lombards, after a time, discontinued the payment of this subsidy, and an army of Franks and Allemanni was sent against them in 585. This expedition failed, in consequence of the national dissensions of the allies. A second invasion, undertaken in 588, was defeated by Autharis, the Lombard monarch, with "more loss and dishonour than the Franks had sustained since the foundation of their monarchy." In 590, however, they returned to the charge, so formidable in numbers, that Autharis withdrew with his treasures into the walled cities, between the Alps and the Apennines. But intemperance, disease, and desertion wasted the force of the invaders, while the twenty dukes, who led them, were engaged in useless disputes. After plundering the country for three months, they set out to re-

turn, and re-entered France with a multitude of captives, driven like yoked oxen before them. They were in such a destitute state, that they gave all their booty, their prisoners, their clothing, and even their arms, in exchange for food in the places through which they passed.

By the perpetual exhibition of weakness and vice, the Merovingian princes had gradually allowed the power of the *leudes* (barons) to increase, while their own was diminished. The many wars in which the sovereigns had engaged, had produced little glory or gain; and those of the leudes, who desired to aggrandize themselves by increasing their private domains, were very unwilling to follow the standard of the king in an endless succession of foreign hostilities. The ancient inhabitants of the land were very restless, and perpetually received additions to their strength, in the foreigners whom the wars reduced to bondage, and in the great tide of emigration which poured into the country from beyond the Rhine. The Franks, Saxons, Allemanni, and other tribes driven from their seats by new races pressing forward from the north, displaced their southern neighbours in their search for new homes. The ancient wars of the Cimbri and Teutones, seeking a home among the Gauls, seem to have been renewed in the Avaric, Lombard, and Saxon incursions. The primary cause of the great revolution which thus, from time to time, drove the Scythians and Scandinavians to the south-west, cannot be accurately ascertained, but it is undeniable that the movement was continued till the ninth or tenth century. The wars of Thierry and Clotaire with the Thuringians and Saxons, and those of Theodebert and his successors in Italy, are ascribed by M. Guizot to the pressure from the north-east of new tribes, which were perpetually urging forward the old settlers, and compelling them to seek other colonies. "The warlike expeditions of the times," he says, "were not mere pillaging inroads, they were not expeditions undertaken for the purpose of plunder; they were the result of necessity. The people, disturbed in their own settlements, pressed forward to better their fortune, and find new abodes elsewhere."* The Thuringians were impelled onward by the Danes, and these, in turn, by the Normans, the Huns, the Bohemians, and the whole Slavonian race.

Frédégonde endeavoured to turn to her account the troubles which impended over the country. The inhabitants of Soissons and Meaux, dissatisfied with her for holding her court at Vaudreuil, threw off their allegiance, and requested Childebert to give them his son, Theodebert, a child three years old, for king. He complied, and the royal infant was inducted into his new kingdom, which was to be governed by a mayor of the palace, an officer now indispensable in the Frankish courts. Frédégonde protested against the usurpation, and implored Gontran to maintain the rights which he had guaranteed to her son. But the growing disaffection of the leudes towards the Merovingian princes, now broke into an open rupture between Gontran and his court. He dared

* Guizot's History of Civilization.

not stir abroad in the streets of Orleans without a strong guard; his edicts were treated with contempt, and the nobles were roaming over the country with their vassals, and filling every part of it with rapine and plunder. Gontran was of too feeble a character to repress these lamentable excesses, and Brunehaut dared not take a stand against those by whose sufferance she held her authority. Frédégonde, hoping to recover her former power, encouraged by her emissaries the discontent of the nobles in the other realms, and cautiously refrained from opposing those among her own adherents. It has been asserted that she organized a conspiracy against Childebert, which, however, was discovered and foiled by the assassination of its chief, Rauchingue. A mark of the wealth of the leudes, is found in the fact that the royal coffers did not contain so much treasure as was found in the mansions and castles of this noble.

Gontran and Childebert joined their forces, and punished all those who were concerned in this attempt. It was on this occasion that the celebrated treaty of Andelot was formed, by which the two kings agreed to surrender all deserters from each other, and the royal grants, or *benefices*, were confirmed to their holders independent of any future disposition of the sovereign, for the time being, in whose territories they might lie.

No sooner was this revolt against Childebert suppressed, than another was contemplated. Its authors were betrayed and punished. Egidius, the Bishop of Rheims, being implicated in this affair, was tried and pronounced guilty, and sentenced to be deposed and banished to Strasburg.

In Neustria, two families had become involved in a mortal feud. Frédégonde's attempts to conciliate them failed through the obstinacy of three men of one of the parties. The queen invited the three Franks to a banquet in the palace; seated them all side by side upon a bench, plied them freely with wine, and, when they were intoxicated, gave a preconcerted signal to three men who waited behind them. Each of these at the same moment raised his axe; the floor of the hall was stained with blood, and the opposition to the queen's authority was ended. This violation of the laws of hospitality, however, enraged the Franks, and they besieged the royal palace; but the arrival of a party of faithful troops restored quiet.

Young Clotaire, soon after, fell sick at Paris, and the physicians despaired of saving his life; but his mother undertook the treatment of his disease, and succeeded in effecting a cure. Gontran had commenced a march for Paris, intending to take possession of the kingdom as soon as his nephew should die; but the queen won him over to her friendship, and induced him to become godfather to her son, who had not yet been baptized. The indolent, weak-minded, and inconstant Gontran died two years afterwards, when Clotaire II. was eleven years of age. Childebert inherited his kingdom, and thus became master of a realm three times as large as that of his cousin Clotaire. He immediately put his troops in motion for the acquisition of the smaller king-

dom; but Frédégonde quickly collected a small army which surprised and defeated the invaders, and ravaged the territory of the enemy to the very gates of Rheims.

A war with the Bretons, in which he was severely handled, and another with the Varni, whose name was stricken from the list of nations during its continuance, marked the remainder of the life of Childebert. He died in 596, leaving his kingdom to his two young sons, Theodebert and Thierry, and the care of the government to Brunehaut.

Frédégonde immediately commenced enlarging the kingdom of Neustria, at the expense of her neighbours; and defeated an army which Brunehaut had sent to punish the aggression. She was advancing to Metz when she fell sick and died (A. D. 597), leaving behind her a name celebrated alike in the annals of infamy, and in the record of shrewd, able, and calculating rulers.

Brunehaut survived her rival, and awoke from the panic under which she seems hitherto to have laboured. The Avars, who had continued to press upon the Rhine, were driven back in terror, and compelled to pay tribute. The Lombards renewed treaties of amity with the Austrasians, and the head of the church favoured Theodebert with the titles of most illustrious, most pious, and most Christian prince. But a revolt of chiefs soon after compelled Theodebert to banish Brunehaut from his kingdom. All deserted her, save a poor wood-cutter, named Didier, who met her as she was flying for her life, alone and on foot, in a wood on the frontiers of Champagne. He conducted her to the court of her grandson, Thierry. Here she was kindly received, and enabled to reward the fidelity of Didier, who was made Bishop of Auxerre. At the court of Thierry she speedily organized a war for the recovery of the territory which Frédégonde had seized. The Neustrians were completely humbled, and the dominion of Clotaire was reduced to twelve counties, or governments of counts. During this war, Brunehaut procured the death of Bertoald, the mayor of the palace, who was too honest to be corrupted by her wiles, and too powerful to be openly displaced. Protadius, a Gallo-Roman, devoted to the interests of the queen, was chosen to fill the place of the virtuous Bertoald. The leudes, however, soon after put the new minister to death, in punishment for his having instigated the king to make war against Theodebert.

About this time, too, the queen was opposed by St. Columb, a Scottish or Irish monk, who had founded a monastery of Culdees on the island of Iona, and who now came to spread his doctrines among the Franks. The Pope had flattered the queen and her grandson with praises of their sanctity, and they now came to hear St. Columb preach, expecting the same servile adulation. But the worthy missionary saw sin in the same light whether practised by the highest or the meanest in the land; and he accordingly reproached his royal listeners with the viciousness of the lives they led, and refused to bless the children of the king, because of their illegitimacy. Brunehaut caused him to be apprehended, tried for heresy, and condemned to banishment from France.



ST. COLUMB AND THE SOLDIERS.

The soldiers sent to execute this sentence knelt at the feet of the holy man, and implored his forgiveness of the crime which they were forced to commit. The immorality of Brunehaut and Thierry being made known so publicly, the clergy began to take some notice of it, and a quarrel with them was consequently commenced by the queen.

In 610, the war which the queen had long endeavoured to bring on between her grandsons, suddenly broke out. Clotaire remained neutral, determined to move after one of the belligerents should be reduced. Theodebert fought a final battle on the plains of Tolbiac, where the great Clovis had gained his victory and abjured paganism. The battle was terrible: the combatants fighting so desperately, and so crowded together, that whole battalions remained dead on the ground in their ranks; many standing upright, being

unable from the pressure of their comrades around them to fall to the ground. Theodebert was captured and sent a prisoner to Chalons, where Queen Brunehaut avenged herself for the indignity of being driven from his dominions, by putting him to death. His son, Merovæus, who was still a child, was seized at Cologne, in the pursuit after the battle, by a Burgundian soldier, who held him by the heels while he dashed his brains out against a stone.



DEATH OF MEROVÆUS.

Clotaire took advantage of the destruction of Theodebert's army to recover his old dominions, and he returned an answer of defiance when summoned by Thierry to surrender them. The latter then declared war, and was marching towards the frontier, when he fell sick and died in four days. (A. D. 613.) The eldest of his four sons was but ten years of age, and his grandmother was aged eighty, and odious to the Franks. Clotaire, therefore, advanced to the Rhine, and was everywhere acknowledged as king of the whole country. Brunehaut, knowing her fate should she fall into the power of Frédégonde's sons, mustered an army and sent it against him, under Varnachaire, the mayor of the palace. But her cause was entirely hopeless, and Varnachaire met the troops of Clotaire, lowered his banners, and returned with the foe as his acknowledged sovereign. Brunehaut was captured and brought to the camp of Clotaire, who submitted her to the tortures and insults of the soldiery for three days, and then paraded her through the camp on the back of a camel. At last she was fastened by the hair and one arm and one foot to the tail of a wild horse, and torn in pieces. Her remains were afterwards reduced to ashes in the camp-fires.

Clotaire II. was a wise and pacific sovereign. Perceiving the dissatisfaction with which the leudes and the bishops bore the yoke of the Frankish sovereigns, he strove to conciliate them by granting all their just demands: renouncing his pretensions to naming bishops for the vacant sees in his dominions, abolishing all new imposts upon the people, and granting indemnity to the leudes for the losses they had sustained during the struggles of their masters for power. The leudes of Austrasia being desirous of having a king not subject to the throne of Neustria, Clotaire, in 617, divided his dominions, giving Austrasia to his son Dagobert, then aged fifteen, and appointing Pepin mayor of the palace, and Bishop Arnoul the king's director. The young king was soon after forced into a struggle for his new kingdom by Bertoalde, chief of the Saxons, who



DEATH OF BRUNEHAUT.

wished to free his countrymen from the heavy tribute they were forced to pay to the Merovingian princes. He invaded Austrasia, came suddenly upon Dagobert, and compelled him to retire within his intrenchments. In the conflict, a Saxon approached near enough to the king to cleave his helmet with a sword. The Franks sustained a siege in their camp without stores or provisions, until Clotaire came to their relief. In order to hasten his march, Dagobert sent a messenger to him, with the pieces of his helmet and the hair which the sabre had cut from his head. Clotaire found the enemy encamped on the banks of the Weser, which separated them from him. Learning that the Saxons had circulated a report of his death, he took off his helmet, and suffered his long locks, already whitened by the troubles of his life, to float in the wind to show the enemy that he was still alive and able to chastise them. Being hailed by the Saxons with jeers and insults, he spurred his horse into the Weser, charged upon the midst of the enemy's line, struck Bertoalde to the earth, and cut off his head. This bold action struck terror into the hearts of the Saxons, and the sight of the head of their chief paraded on a lance, caused them to flee in all directions. The pursuit was continued for miles, and the earth was strewed with the bodies of men and horses, dead and dying. The Saxons who were taken prisoners, were measured by the sword of Clotaire, and all who exceeded it in height were put to death. Clotaire II. died at Clichy, in the year 628, at the age of forty-two; having reigned over the kingdom of Neustria or Soissons from the time he was eight months old. By his death, Dagobert became sole master of the realm. He fixed the seat of his government at Paris, which was already regarded as the most important city in France. A half-brother of Dagobert, named Caribert, raised the standard of revolt; but he found no support, and was obliged to fly into Aquitaine. Dago-



CLOTAIRE MEASURING THE PRISONERS.

bert, who was a stern and unflinching, but just and temperate monarch, bestowed upon Caribert the Aquitanian provinces, with the title of king. His dominion spread east and west from Rochelle to the Rhone, and was bounded on the south by the Pyrenees.

Dagobert had the requisite courage and ability to make the laws respected by the leudes and great crown vassals, and all the people revered his character for justice and impartiality. He travelled through his kingdom, restoring order wherever he came. The popularity he thus acquired is shown by the name conferred upon him by the lower classes: "The good King Dagobert." But the Austrasians were not so far advanced in civilization as to be fitted for regular government. They regarded the laws which he prescribed to them as infringing on their privilege of seizing the lands and fortunes of their neighbours in order to better their own.

During the reign of Clotaire, the Slavonians peopled not only the banks of the Drave and the Save, but Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Croatia. One of the tribes into which the race was divided, was that of the Venedes, which had been reduced to slavery by the invaders of their territory, the Avars. In war their masters always placed them in the front rank, where they bore the brunt of the enemy's onset; but afterwards allowed them no share of the spoils. They therefore revolted; and a Frankish merchant named Samon, coming, with others of his countrymen, to trade with them, found them in arms against their oppressors. The traders deposited their merchandise in the camp, and

marched with the Venedes to battle. By their example and instructions, the Venedes became formidable, and finally achieved their independence. They rewarded the disinterestedness of Samon by electing him to be king. He was seated on their throne when, in 630, a company of Frank merchants coming to trade with his subjects, was attacked and robbed. Samon gave them no redress, and they laid their complaints before Dagobert. Fearful of offending his subjects, Samon would not punish the offenders, even at the command of Dagobert, who, consequently, led three armies into his territory. One was composed of the Allemanni, the second of the Lombards; these two were successful: but the third, the Austrasian division, retired from the Slavonic territories, leaving their tents and baggage in the hands of the enemy. Samon then led a host into Thuringia, and ravaged it for three years unopposed. The Austrasians would not fight for Dagobert, the justice-loving king, even to defend their own homes from invasion. But when he gave them for a sovereign his young son Sigebert, then only three years old, they flew to arms, and drove the invaders from the country. But the Neustrians became jealous, and demanded that Dagobert's second son should be an independent king over them. The good king, willing to please them, made his new-born son Clovis king over both Neustria and Burgundy, and reserved to himself power and rank only as the natural guardian and protector of his children. An ignominious transaction, which soon after occurred, has left a dark stain on the character of Dagobert. In 630, the Bulgarians attempted, like the Venedes, to win their independence of the Avaric yoke, but they were defeated. Nine thousand of them sought shelter in the dominions of the King of France, who promised to protect them. But their pagan manners displeased him; and he issued an order, in the execution of which all but seven hundred were murdered. These escaped to their former enemies, the Venedes.

The Spanish nobles, being discontented with the government of their king, Suintila, one of them, named Sisenand, conceived a plan for transferring the crown from the brow of the king to his own, and applied to Dagobert for assistance. The Frankish monarch agreed to aid him in the execution of his scheme, provided that Sisenand would guaranty to him, in the event of success, the possession of a celebrated dish of gold, which had been given by Ætius to the son of Theodoric, after the defeat of Attila the Hun, at Chalons. This dish, one of the most valued national treasures, weighed five hundred pounds, and was set with many precious stones. Sisenand succeeded in obtaining the sovereignty without the aid of the Franks, but he faithfully performed his promise of giving to Dagobert the golden dish. The Spaniards, however, did not relish the idea of parting with a relic esteemed as much for the associations connected with it as for its actual value. Some of them, therefore, formed a band, waylaid the bearers of the dish at one of the mountain passes, and repossessed themselves of it by force. Dagobert demanded its restoration; but the Visigoths were determined that war only should wrest it from them,



THE DISH OF DAGOBERT.



SUBMISSION OF THE GASCONS TO DAGOBERT.

and the Frank ruler accepted in lieu of it the sum of two hundred thousand pennies in gold, supposed to be equal to nearly seven hundred thousand dollars.

The army which had been collected to advance the interests of Sisenand, was now sent by Dagobert against Amandus, Duke of the Gascons, who desired to take from Dagobert the guardianship of the infant sons of Caribert, who had died in the third year of his reign. The Gascons were defeated in battle, pursued to their mountain fastnesses, and compelled to accede to the hard terms imposed by the conquerors. They offered submission to Dagobert, who granted them pardon and made a peace with them, which was preserved until his death: then they resumed their struggle for independence. The army

which reduced the Gascons was not disbanded until it had terrified the Bretons into submission. Their king, Judicael, came with his retinue to resign the royal title to Dagobert and implore his pardon and friendship. The good king gave him the dignity of Count, loaded him with presents, and sent him to resume the government of his own country. During this visit Judicael refused to partake of a banquet with the king, but shared in the frugal meal of the Chancellor Dadon, Archbishop of Rouen.

On the 19th of January, 638, Dagobert died at Clichy, and was buried in the abbey of St. Denis. For half a century none of his predecessors had exercised so much power over the nobles and the clergy as he possessed; after his death, the princes of the Merovingian race became so completely degenerate as not to deserve the title of sovereign. The mayors of the palace made decrees, and the authority of the king was used to sanction them, and to procure for the ministers a large share of the profits arising from wars and treaties. The nobles were beginning to establish themselves in castles and fortresses, and to assemble round them a retinue or court of freemen, and a number of serfs or bond-tenants, to cultivate their domains in time of peace, and to follow their standard in time of war. The larger estates were beginning to come under the laws of hereditary ownership, and being possessed of almost regal prerogatives, the fiefs were weaned from their original lord. The object of the king was to repress the power and privileges of the feudatories, while they laboured incessantly for their extension, and took advantage of every occasion to lessen the ability of the king to recover the sovereignty which was gradually receding from him. The mayors of the palace were selected from among the principal leudes, whose interests were identical with their own; and thus, even when a tyrannical measure which they had originated rendered the name of the king obnoxious, the indignant nobles esteemed the mayors of the palace as friends and partisans. Ega was mayor of the palace of Clovis, the young king of Neustria and Burgundy, and Pepin de Landen exercised the same functions at the court of Sigebert of Austrasia. Both possessed regal power, and forced the puppets, in whose names they acted, to acquiesce in every measure they proposed. Meanwhile the aristocracy struggled against the king, the king against the aristocracy, and the church against both; each aiming at a complete independence, now gaining an advantage from the weakness of its opponents, now losing at an unguarded point.

Whilst the successors of Clovis were thus gradually sinking into oblivion at home, their tributaries began to aspire to freedom. During the war with the merchant-king, Samon, Radulfe received the title of Duke of Thuringia, with a high military appointment. When the war was ended, he refused to resign his extraordinary powers, and successfully resisted an attempt made by Sigebert at coercion. The Franks retired from the struggle, and thus this part of Germany became free and independent.

In 650, Sigebert died, and the powerful mayor of the palace, Grimoald,

determined to obtain for his family the name as well as the substance of royalty. He placed his son Childebert, seven years of age, upon the throne, cut off the long hair of Dagobert, son of Sigebert, sent him to a monastery in Ireland, and circulated a report of his death. But the Austrasians were not yet prepared for this change, and they abhorred one who betrayed his trust. They therefore revolted, pillaged the palace, and sent Grimoald and his son, prisoners, to Clovis, who put them to death. In 656, Clovis also died, leaving three infant children, Clotaire III., Childeric II., and Thierry III., to inherit his realm. Neustria was given to Clotaire III.; but Burgundy and Austrasia were not favoured with a sovereign until Clotaire died, four years after his accession. Then Austrasia received Childeric II., and a mayor of the palace, and Burgundy was ruled by Ebroin, a mayor, in the name of Thierry III. But the Burgundians soon after revolted, cut off the hair of Thierry, and placed him in the monastery of Luxeuil as a prisoner. He became a monk of his own accord, and entered a cell in the abbey of St. Denis. Burgundy was then allied with Austrasia. Neustria came under the care of Ebroin, as mayor of the palace, though without a sovereign.

Childeric II. was soon involved in a struggle with the leudes, which terminated fatally to himself. He summoned the Bishop Léger, the leader of the Burgundian malcontents, to answer an accusation of treason at the Easter festival in 673. The king determined in his wrath to slay the bishop with his own hand; he entered the cathedral where the prelate was officiating, and called to him to come forth. The undaunted bishop heeded not his cries, but finished the service. At its close, he went boldly to seek the king in the royal apartments; his fearless aspect overawed the angry monarch, and he escaped with his life. He was, however, sent to Luxeuil, and there imprisoned with his former adversary Ebroin. Here they became friends, but took opposite sides when the death of Childeric restored them to liberty. The leudes looked upon the attack made on the bishop as aimed at them; and their anger at this circumstance was increased by the imprudence of Childeric, who, in the course of the year, caused a nobleman named Bodilon, to be tied to a stake and publicly beaten for some offence. A few days afterwards, as he was travelling in a forest near Chelles, with his queen and his two sons, Bodilon attacked them at the head of his followers, and massacred them all except the second son, who contrived to escape.

A reign of terror now commenced. Governor made war on governor; bands of outlaws started up in every part of the kingdom; the husbandmen fled to the cities for safety, and the fields were not tilled. Ebroin and Léger began to oppose each other, and Thierry, exchanging the cowl for the crown, claimed from the leudes his brother's throne. Léger supported his claim, and he eventually became king. Léger, however, lost his life in the contest; and being regarded by the people as a martyr, he was afterwards canonized by the Pope. The exiled Dagobert returned from his banishment in Ireland and



MURDER OF CHILDERIC AND THE ROYAL FAMILY.

assumed the title of King of Austrasia; but he was speedily assassinated. Martin and Pepin, descendants of Grimoald the mayor of the palace, who had exiled Dagobert, were in 679 invested by their countrymen with the chief power. They still, however, were called Dukes. Ebroin opposed them with little success, and he had recourse to assassination to remove them from his path. Duke Martin fell a victim to his arts in 681, but Pepin escaped. In 682, a Frank, named Hermanfrid, whom Ebroin had attempted to deprive of his possessions, attacked the palace of the mayor, put him to death, and fled for safety to Duke Pepin. That dignitary prepared to go to war with Berthaire, the successor of Ebroin, and both parties did so in the name of the king. That unfortunate person was in the hands of Berthaire, who brought him into his camp to give colour to his proceedings. The two armies met at Testry in Vermandois, where, after a decisive conflict, the followers of Pepin remained masters of the field. Berthaire and Thierry fled with their followers, but they were pursued, and the king was captured. Berthaire was killed by his own soldiers, and Thierry carried to Metz, the capital of Austrasia, to assume the dignified office of a *Roi faineant*, under the control of his servant, Duke Pepin, the actual sovereign of France.

The Bretons, the Aquitanians, the Bavarians, the Allemanni, the Saxons, and the Frisons, were all in arms, anxious to commence a struggle for independence. The Atlantic and the Elbe, the Pyrenees and the British Channel, were the nominal limits of the empire of the Franks at this period; but the



BATTLE OF TESTINY.

realm was sadly shattered, and on the point of falling into a thousand pieces, when Pepin d'Heristal arose to effect its regeneration. Personal ambition, an enlarged philanthropy, causing him to seek the greatest extension of human happiness, or whatever other motive may be assigned to the conduct of the great Pepin, it is certain that he was one of those men "to whom," according to M. Guizot,* "the spectacle of society in a state of anarchy or immobility is revolting and almost unbearable; it occasions them an intellectual shudder, as a thing that should not be; they feel an unconquerable desire to change it; to restore order; to introduce something general, regular, and permanent, into the world which is placed before them."

In the midst of his labours for the re-establishment of law and order among the leudes, Pepin was called to the field by a revolt of the Frisons, who, headed by their duke, Radbode, declared their independence. Pepin suddenly marched into their territory with a large army, defeated them twice, and compelled them to defray the expenses which he had incurred in reducing them. He quartered his army upon them during the winter, and marched back to France in the spring. On his return he summoned an assembly of the states; a national institution, the neglect of which by the Frankish sovereigns had greatly increased the previous troubles. It met in March 690. The nobles and bishops had equal votes, and equal privileges were assigned to the clergy and inferior laity. The laws passed at this meeting provided for the government of the clergy, as well as the laity. The poor were not forgotten. Wards and orphans were guaranteed protection, and laws were passed regulating the administrations of guardians. In royal robes, upon the throne sat *king* Thierry, a silent spectator of the glorious attempt at reform made in his name by the presiding genius of the country. His palace-prison received him again when the meeting adjourned, and kept him from the world until Pepin again summoned him to take part in another pageant. As soon as the Champ des Mars had broken up, Pepin laid aside the character of the legislator for that of the warrior; the Frisons having recommenced hostilities as soon as he had left their country. The pressure from the north-east forced these German tribes, even against their will, to make war for new settlements upon their neighbours. Their struggles were incessant. The Frisons, the Saxons, the Bavarians, and others, were impelled by the whole Slavonic race, and other nations embarked in the great south-western migrations. So constantly were these wars waged, that the author of the annals of Metz, speaking of the year 713, when Pepin lay sick at his house in Jopil, distinguishes it as "the year in which was no war."†

Besides foreign enemies, the leudes of the three great divisions of the kingdom, finding that they had lost rather than gained by the change of masters, openly evinced their hostility towards the family of Pepin. The minister made

* Guizot's History of Civilization.

† Pictorial History of France.

his two sons, Drogon and Grimoald, mayors of Burgundy and Neustria, but both of them fell in the struggle for power. The old man then appointed his grandson Theodoald his successor in the office of mayor of Austrasia, with power over the whole empire. He soon after died at Jopil, in December 714. Thierry III. had died in 690. After him came Clovis III., who in five years gave place to Childebert III. Childebert had been followed by Dagobert III. No change had been effected by the frequent succession of sovereigns; they came like shadows after each other, and lived in utter seclusion, except when Pepin made a show for their amusement or his own ends, and suffered them to sit a few hours upon a golden throne. His will was law as absolute to them as to the lowest of their subjects. At the time of his death, his grandson was eight years of age, and the puppet-king not sixteen. This absurd arrangement was soon set aside. While the little mayor was travelling to Paris with his mother, his attendants were attacked and routed by a party of the turbulent nobles; the mayor being saved only by the flight of his mother. The Neustrians then elected Rainfroy to the office of mayor, and recognised as king Chilperic II., the second son of Childeric II., who had escaped when Bodilon slew his father's family. Chilperic was an active and intelligent prince, and one who would probably have destroyed much, if not all, of the authority of the mayors, had he continued on the throne. Having established quiet in his own kingdom, he advanced against Austrasia, which being at the same time attacked by the Frisons and Saxons, seemed about to fall beneath the impending calamities. A great man was needed, and accordingly one arose, who not only quieted the troubles of France, but saved the whole of Christendom from desolation at the hands of the Mahommedans. This hero was Charles, a natural son of Pepin d'Heristal, who had quarrelled with him in consequence of his youthful excesses, and had made no provision for him at his death. He was twenty-five years of age, endowed with even more than the military talents of his father, gifted with the most insurmountable courage, and a frame capable of enduring great hardships. Gathering round him from the Austrasian leudes a number of followers daring as himself, he declared against a female reign. Having succeeded in taking the power from the hands of his stepmother and her grandson, he turned upon and repulsed the Germans on all sides. With a small but heroic army he then marched against the Neustrian invaders under Rainfroy and King Chilperic.

They were superior to him in numbers, and he trusted more to stratagem than to force. Finding them encamped under the walls of the palace of Amblet, he drew up his little army on a height overlooking the royal demesne. (A. D. 716.) In the night a trusty follower was sent into the camp of King Chilperic to commence the battle. He cried out that the Austrasians were attacking the camp, then ran into a tent and wounded several of the sleeping soldiers. Irretrievable confusion ensued. Every one, expecting instant death, thought only of flight, and the noise brought Charles upon them in reality.

The victory was already won. The Austrasians had merely to slay the fugitives, which they did with great good-will. Some of the Neustrians took refuge in the church of Amblet, and remained there till Charles granted them conditions of peace. Among them was one who came, lame and bleeding, to claim justice from the victorious chief upon one of the soldiers, who, he alleged, had wounded him when within the walls of the church, and had thereby violated the right of sanctuary. Charles summoned the offender, who became



THE FUGITIVE WOUNDED WHEN SEEKING SANCTUARY.

very indignant at the charge, explaining it by stating that when he struck the Neustrian on the heel, his body might have been in the church, but his leg was certainly without; a satisfactory refutation of the charge of sacrilege in his own mind as well as in that of the chief, who accordingly dismissed the complaint.

By the following spring, the brave and the warlike from all parts of the country had assembled around the banners of the young hero, who resolved whilst the Germans were preparing for an invasion, to crush the power of Rainfroy and Chilperic. This was effected by a victory gained on the 19th of March, 717, at Vinci. Charles then marched upon Paris, and caused himself to be proclaimed mayor of the palace. It was not, however, till 720, that the civil war was ended. Chilperic II. became a *roi faineant* under the victorious Charles, and Rainfroy was pardoned and made Count of Angers.

From 720 till 731, Charles was busily occupied in completing the great work of reform commenced by his father, and in repelling foreign aggressions.

In the last-named year, he had for some offence marched against Eudes, the Duke of Aquitaine, who was engaged in watching the Saracens in Spain, and who avoided a war by making concessions. He had scarcely reached Paris when Eudes, almost alone and in the deepest despair, came to visit him, and implore his aid against the Saracens, who had burst like a whirlwind upon his country. Charles saw the danger in which his own dominions were thus placed, and he readily determined to march against the invaders before the forces of Eudes should be totally destroyed. He soon after gained the victory which has made his name so familiar, in a plain between Poitiers and Tours. In this battle his blows were dealt so vigorously upon the heads of the Saracens that he received the surname of Martel (the Hammer). Thus he broke the power of the Arabs north of the Pyrenees, and terminated their career of western conquests. Charles was engaged in almost continual warfare, principally with the Saracens and Septimanians, from this time till his death in October 741.

At the death of Charles Martel, his power was divided between his two sons, Pepin and Carloman; but Grippon, a third son, seized some of the provinces of Pepin, and was only dispossessed by misfortunes in the war which followed in consequence. The Aquitanians, the Bavarians, and Allemanni took advantage of the civil dissensions to rise in revolt, and had the rulers been Merovingian princes, the power of the Franks would have been destroyed. But Pepin and Carloman saw their danger, united their arms to oppose it, and the rebels everywhere returned to their allegiance. The Austrasians, in their council, represented Carloman as reigning prince, while the council of Soissons in 744, gives the date as that of the reign of the *roi faineant* Childeric III. But the crown which was just about to settle on his brow, was thrust aside by Carloman, who voluntarily resigned his rank and power, and entered into a monastery. (A. D. 745.) Pepin, left sole ruler of the kingdom, took Grippon from the confinement in which he had been placed, and gave him a considerable share of power.

The ungrateful prince was nevertheless, dissatisfied. He encouraged the disaffection of the Saxons, and suddenly leaving the court with his friends and retainers, he set up his standard on the banks of the Weser. Pepin, as soon as he was informed of this defection, collected an army of a hundred thousand Venedes, and burst upon the Saxon territory with the force of a thunder-storm. The country was tranquillized by converting it into a desert, and the Venedes were suffered to plunder and ravage it for four years. Grippon fled to the court of his maternal grandfather, Odilon, Count of Bavaria. But Pepin, moving with his usual alacrity, defeated him in the first battle, and took him prisoner. According to the Frankish ideas he deserved the punishment of death, but Pepin again gave him his confidence, together with the title of duke, and a court retinue in the city of Mans. (A. D. 748.)

Judgment, ability, and vigour, justice, mildness, and mercy, were the

qualities which gained for Pepin the good will of all the Frank population except a few leudes, who regretted the good old times when every man was his own master, his own legislator, and his own avenger. Though regarded as a sovereign in the country which he ruled, he determined to establish for his children a secure throne, one able to withstand the storms which might break over it. He desired to fix the throne in his own family, not by the arbitrary exercise of the power which he possessed, but by the combined voices of the nobles, the clergy, and the people. Ecclesiastics regarded the authority of the Pope as the highest on earth, and the papal decrees proclaimed from the pulpit, possessed great weight among the people. But the Saracens, the Lombards, and the Greek emperor had severely shaken the power of the pontiff, and Pepin was his only powerful supporter; he, therefore, was not likely to refuse his assent to any proposition which might conduce to the happiness of his warlike neighbour. When, therefore, Boniface of Mayence, on behalf of Pepin, sounded his views respecting the designs of the latter, he returned an approbatory answer. Pepin, therefore, sent a public embassy to him, for the purpose of ascertaining whether, in the existing state of Christendom, the nominal authority and the real power should be divided in France, and whether Pepin himself having the power, should not assume the rank and title of king, now held by the feeble Childeric III. The Pope decided that Pepin should be king, and directed Boniface to consecrate him to that high dignity. Childeric he directed to be shaven and placed in the convent of St. Omar. The directions of the Pope were laid before the council, a universal shout of approbation confirmed the change of dynasty, and Pepin was raised on a shield as the monarch of France. But it was thought proper to obey fully the directions of the pope, and preparations were immediately made for the inauguration and coronation of the new sovereign with religious rites and ceremonies. Boniface—Saint Boniface—officiated on the occasion, and anointed and consecrated the new king after the manner of the ancient kings of Israel, at the same time requiring from him an oath to govern his people righteously, and to protect the church.

A multitude of difficulties almost immediately rose in the path of the new king. The Neustrians, the Aquitanians, the Bretons, and the Saxons, set the example to other tributary nations of refusing to acknowledge his sway. His brother Grippon, whose forfeited life he had twice spared, evinced his gratitude by proclaiming him a usurper, and joining his arms with those of the enemy. Pepin rose superior to every obstacle. The Saxons and Bretons were quickly humbled, and the cities of Nîmes, Béziers, Agde, and Maguelonne being placed in his power by the treachery of the Septimanian governor, gave him a foothold in that country, and laid open the whole Aquitanian frontier. Before entering Aquitaine, Pepin undertook another expedition, seemingly much more difficult. Pope Stephen, menaced by Astolphus, the King of the Lombards, came to implore the aid of Pepin in retaining possession of the holy

patrimony. Pepin promised speedy succour, and then availed himself of the favourable opportunity which the Pope's visit afforded, to obtain a solemn and impressive ratification of the title which he had assumed. Stephen consecrated, anointed, and crowned him anew in the presence of the nobles, the clergy, and the people; proclaimed him the true and only King of the Franks and eldest son of the church, and denounced excommunication and a terrible anathema against every man and his posterity, who should dare attempt to dethrone the reigning prince, or hinder the succession of his right heirs. The gratitude of Pepin for this most substantial favour, and the opportunity of extending his power over the Lombard States, afforded by the internal troubles of Italy, induced him to reject every proposition made by Astolphus, to keep him from meddling in his affairs. The Lombard king prevailed upon Carloman to take up his cause, and sent him to plead with his brother; but Pepin affected to be displeased with the zeal displayed by the princely monk in executing his task, and commanded him to desist from his entreaties. He then prepared to begin the war, and in 755 he defeated the Lombard troops in a great battle, in the valley of Suza. Astolphus fled to Pavia, where he was closely besieged. The Franks spread terror and desolation over all the fertile country and carried into their camp immense quantities of gold and silver, jewels and ornaments. Astolphus obtained a peace by resigning all the territory formerly comprised within the limits of the exarchate of Ravenna, which Pepin conferred in sovereignty, upon the Pope: thus laying the foundation of the temporal power of the Pontiffs.

By a savage and desolating warfare, which inflicted such misery on the people, that they left their homes on the approach of the Franks, for a precarious life of freedom among the woods and rocks, Pepin succeeded in subduing and tranquillizing Aquitaine. This contest was the most obstinate of all in which he was engaged, and many of its occurrences have left dark spots upon the page of French history. On his way from Aquitaine to Paris, Pepin was seized with a fever. He caused himself to be carried to the tomb of St. Martin, at Tours, and afterwards to that of St. Denis, hoping that the saints would work a miraculous cure for "the eldest son of the church." But his excessive superstition, which gave to the head of the church its temporal power, and its pretensions to the right of exalting and dethroning princes—of disposing of kingdoms and people, availed him nothing in his extremity. He died in August 768, and was buried at St. Denis, where a monument was erected to his memory, in the time of St. Louis. It bore the inscription: "Pepin, father of Charlemagne."

Pepin was stout, vigorous, and hardy; a noted warrior in times when cowards were unknown. He was so short in stature that he was called *le Bref*, (the short). This circumstance is the foundation of the following anecdote, which, besides proving the great muscular power and courage of the king, will give an idea of the popular sports of the day. At a public exhibition,



CORONATION OF PEPIN LE HERF.

a strong lion held by the throat and almost strangled a furious bull, Pepin proposed to the company that some of them should rescue the suffering animal. No one answered the appeal. Pepin thereupon rose from his seat, leaped into the arena, cut the throat of the lion, and with one stroke of his sword, severed the head from the body of the bull. Turning to the admiring spectators, he significantly observed, "David was a little man, yet he slew Goliath." This feat is said to have been performed before the dethroned Childeric, and by presenting a remarkable contrast between the weakness of the king and the boldness and strength of the mayor, it may have contributed much towards securing to the latter the hearts of the fierce and warlike Franks.

We have been thus particular with the history of the Franks during what has been called the barbarous period of European civilization, not only because their history comprises within itself a great portion of the records of other nations, but because it serves to give a correct picture of society during the times when strife and violence filled all lands. A somewhat particular and continued history of one country during the period from Clovis to Charlemagne, was necessary to give the reader an idea of the state of manners, politics, and morals in the middle ages. We have given a history of the actions of kings and nobles during the early part of this period, and have thereby shown them in their true characters, avenging and protecting not the innocent, but the guilty; perjuring themselves continually; glorying in war, however unjust; sitting in judgment upon and filling the prisons with men who had committed no crime, and hesitating not to employ the dagger of the assassin for the destruction of a foe. In the midst of this violence, injustice, and confusion, the Christian Church appears as a conservative power. The leading clergy, being the most learned and accomplished men of the time, acquired the direction of education, of public works, and even of municipal administration to a certain extent;* and the temporal power which was at first thrust upon them, laid the foundation of those arrogant pretensions which marked a later period of history.

We will now recur to the history of the Lombards, before taking a brief view of the progress of affairs in England from the fall of the empire to the time of Charlemagne. That portion of the history of Spain, which has not been already narrated, will come under our notice in the succeeding chapter.

The invasion of Italy by Childebert, so alarmed the Lombards that they put an end to the federation which had been established after the death of Clepho, and chose Autharis, the son of that ruler, to be king. Autharis gained several victories over the Franks, and formed the duchy of Benevento out of a part of ancient Samnium, which he had conquered from the Emperor Maurice. When the second invasion of the Franks threatened the destruction of the Lombards, he prudently avoided a battle, and the dissensions of the

* Guizot.



FRANKS GIVING ARMS AND PRISONERS FOR FOOD.

twenty chiefs, who headed it, produced intemperance, disease, and desertion among their soldiers, and unprofitably consumed their time and resources. Though they led back to France a multitude of captives driven like oxen before them, they not only sold them, but exchanged their booty and even their arms for food.

The short but glorious reign of Autharis was ended by his death (A. D. 590). The crown was then placed upon the brow of Agilulfe, who attempted to change the religion of the Lombards from the Arian heresy to the orthodox faith. Several of his dukes made this a pretext for rebellion, but he chastised them, and his son and successor, Adaluald, completed the change. The Arians became sufficiently powerful to raise another to the throne; but the rivals both died childless, and the Lombard assembly chose Rotharies to succeed them. Though he was an Arian, the wisdom of his laws gained for him the affection and esteem of all his subjects, thereby strengthening his hands for the war which he effectually waged against the imperial interest in Italy. During ten years after his death, confusion and bloodshed marked the history of his kingdom. At the end of that time the iron crown was placed upon the head of Grimoald (A. D. 662). Under the rule of this prince, the Lombards were involved in war with the Greek emperor, Constans, who appeared in Italy at the head of a powerful army. He laid siege to Benevento, but the garrison resisted so valiantly that he was forced to retreat. The Lombards followed him, overtook him on the march, and cut his army to pieces. Constans himself fled to Sicily, where some of his domestics murdered him in a bath. (July 15th, A. D. 668.) His conqueror died in 672, universally lamented by

the Lombards, who were by his death plunged into a new series of the most bloody but obscure revolutions. Luitprand was raised to the throne in 711, though against the wishes of the nobles. He succeeded, however, in winning their favour by his courage, prudence, and wisdom, and by his wise laws restored the prosperity of his people. Ambition prompted him to imitate the career of Charles Martel, who was then engaged in extending his sway over all France, and who was on terms of the strictest friendship with Luitprand.

Leo, the Isaurian, at this time governed the Greek empire. He engaged in a hot dispute with the reigning pope, Gregory III. concerning the worship of images, which he had caused to be removed from all churches within his dominions and destroyed. Gregory approved the use of the symbols, applied the term Iconoclasts (*image breakers*) to the emperor and his partisans, and finally resorted to violence. While the Catholic



CHARLES MARTEL

portion of Italy was torn by factions, Luitprand, who was accused of Arianism, seized upon the last remnant of the imperial territory in the west, the Exarchate of Ravenna. He even threatened to besiege Rome itself, which was nominally comprised in the Exarchate, though really ruled by Gregory. Under these distressing circumstances, Gregory implored aid from the emperor; but that dignitary considering the little real power he possessed in Italy to be not worth fighting for, suffered the combatants to settle their own dispute. Gregory then sent to Charles Martel, the friend of the Lombards, a most flattering and pressing appeal for succour. Charles, however, was unwilling to sever the ties of friendship which bound him to Luitprand, and he therefore merely offered his mediation. It was accepted, and the Lombard army withdrew from the gates of the Eternal City.

Gregory, however, was dissatisfied with the result, and he determined to make a still more direct appeal to the vanity and ambition of the gallant Frank. He accordingly sent an embassy to him, with the keys of the tomb of St. Peter, and a part of the chains which the apostle had worn in maintaining the faith, as a present, and an offer to recognize Charles as Consul of Rome, and Emperor of the West. This magnificent proposal aroused the ambition of the great mayor, and he despatched an embassy to Gregory with a flattering answer. But his death soon after, probably, prevented Charles from anticipating the career of his grandson, Charlemagne. Luitprand, also died in 743, leaving his kingdom to be afflicted with a series of civil wars.



CHARLES MARTEL RECEIVING THE POPE'S PRESENTS.

Astolphus, who carried the power of the Lombards to its greatest height, was chosen king, in 751. He took possession of Ravenna and its dependencies, changed it into a new dukedom, and then led his forces against Rome. As we have before seen, Pepin was called to interfere in the quarrel, he having been elected to the office of patrician or exarch, by the Romans, and being bound by his acceptance of that title, to maintain the integrity of the Roman territory. He reannexed the territories of the exarchate which he recovered from the Lombards, to those which had remained in the hands of the Pope; an act which the popes afterwards assumed to be the gift of a province, conquered by him as King of the Franks, and bestowed directly on the papal see. But the deeds of Charlemagne show "that the monarchs of the Franks looked upon

upon the whole transaction in a different light, and considered all the temporal and part even of the ecclesiastical power in the provinces which they had restored to Rome, as still vested in themselves in their quality of patrician or exarch.”* Voltaire, taking the same view of the subject, observes that “it is very unlikely that a man of Pepin’s disposition, who had dethroned his own sovereign, should march with an army into Italy for no other purpose than to make presents.”

Having taken from the Lombards the territory formerly comprised within the exarchate, and forced Astolphus to become tributary to him, Pepin returned to France. Astolphus was soon after killed by being thrown, with his horse, against a tree while hunting.



DEATH OF ASTOLPHUS.

The remainder of the history of the Lombards is soon told. The kingdom was distracted after the death of Astolphus by a disputed succession, which was finally ended by the accession of Desiderius or Didier, to the throne, under the auspices of the pope.† (A. D. 756.) But the jealousy of the pontiff afterwards threatening his power, he tried to secure himself by forming an alliance with the Frank kings, Charles and Carloman. He gave to each of them one of his daughters in marriage; but Charles divorced his wife, and Desiderius compromised his safety by indulging his desire for vengeance. He endeavoured to persuade the pope Adrian to anoint Carloman’s children Kings of France, but the pontiff depended too much upon the support of Charlemagne to comply with his wishes. He, therefore, invaded the papal dominions, and

* James’s History of Charlemagne.

† Taylor.

Adrian, too feeble to support a war, threw himself upon the kindness of Charlemagne. The Frank sovereign crossed the Alps captured Pavia, and easily put an end to the Lombard rule. Desiderius was sent from Italy into France, and the iron crown of Lombardy was transferred to the brows of the great conqueror.

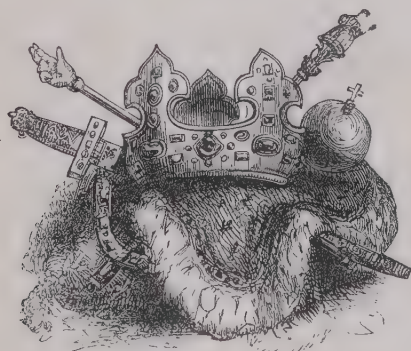
When the barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire compelled the emperors to abandon their frontier provinces, the pusillanimous Britons remained exposed to the incursions of the Picts and Scots. Instead of uniting against the common enemies, the chiefs and princes spent their resources in contests for the supremacy, and in theological controversies. At length Vortigern, a British prince, resolved on the fatal expedient of inviting the Saxons to come from Germany to their aid. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Germans was their passion for maritime enterprise. They ploughed the waves and faced the storm in well-rigged ships, and had gradually combined piracy with trade as the luxury introduced by the Romans, enriched and enfeebled the inhabitants of Gaul and Britain. Three divisions of them are made by historians: the Jutes, of the Cimbric peninsula or Jutland; the Angles, of Jutland and Holstein; and the Saxons, who dwelt thence to the Rhine.* Vortigern applied to Hengist and Horsa, two brothers, chiefs of the Jutes, who claimed to be descended from Woden, the tutelary god of their nation. They readily accepted the invitation of Vortigern, came to his aid with three ships, carrying sixteen hundred men, and were soon after followed by others of their countrymen. Their arms being joined with those of the Britons, they defeated the invaders. The ease with which this victory was obtained, suggested to the Saxons the thought that they could easily dispossess a nation unable to resist such feeble invaders. They determined to attempt it, and commenced a war for the country, which raged for one hundred and fifty years. New swarms of invaders poured into the island from time to time, being chiefly composed of Saxons, and of Angles, a similar barbarous tribe. The mountains of Wales and Cornwall finally received the miserable remnant of the Britons, and the southern portion of the island was divided into seven Saxon kingdoms, known as the Heptarchy. From the commencement of the seventh till the end of the eighth century after Christ, the history of the Heptarchy presents a continued and confused succession of petty wars, totally devoid of interest. Offa, King of Mercia, is the only one of the long list of kings whose memory deserves to be rescued from the oblivion into which the names of his cotemporaries have been cast. Such was his power, and so wide-spread his reputation, that Charlemagne sought and cultivated his friendship, and desired him to send to his court the celebrated Alcuin.

When Egbert ascended the throne of Wessex, as the kingdom of the West Saxons was called, the dominion of Mercia was extended over a great part

* Keightley's England.

of the Heptarchy. (A. D. 800.) Egbert, however, was the sole descendant of those princes who first subdued Britain, and he enhanced his authority by claiming a pedigree from Woden. The Mercians attacked him, but were defeated. Kent, Essex, Sussex, and East Anglia became tributary to him, and in two battles he gained possession of Mercia. The people of Northumberland gladly placed themselves under his rule, and he thus consolidated the Heptarchy into one kingdom, which received the name of England, from the appellation of the Angles, who four hundred years before had come to conquer the island. This union of the Saxon Heptarchy took place (A. D. 827).

The Britons had been instructed in the Christian religion while under the Roman dominion. The Saxons, on invading the island, extended their enmity against the inhabitants to a hatred of their worship, and thus the true faith became almost extirpated. But in 597, the missionary, St. Augustine, arrived in the kingdom of Kent, then the most powerful kingdom of the Heptarchy. Ethelbert, the king, had married a Christian princess, Bertha, the daughter of Caribert of France, who, by her exalted character, obtained a great influence over the minds of the king and his principal chiefs. Becoming acquainted with her popularity, Pope Gregory the Great intrusted his qualified legate, Augustine, with the task of converting the people of Kent to the doctrines of the true church. By his austere manners and the penances to which he subjected himself, joined to the eloquence and ability with which he expounded the doctrines of his religion, he soon acquired great influence over the minds of the simple Saxons. The king and most of his subjects, were converted to the Christian faith, and St. Augustine became the first archbishop of Canterbury. The whole island soon followed the example of the principal province, the hearts and minds of the people began to be improved, and civilization and religion advanced hand in hand.

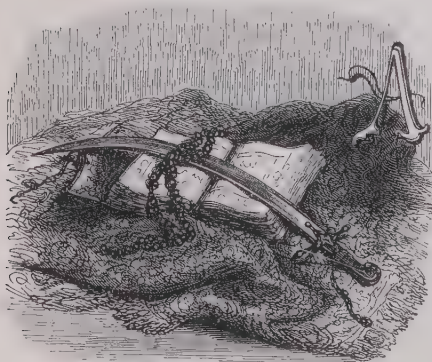




MOHAMMED.

CHAPTER III.

The Rise and Establishment of the Saracenic Power.



RABIA was not remarkable in the annals of the world previous to the sixth century. The Arabs, however, had already signalized themselves by incursions into the Eastern empire, when Mohammed was born in the year 580, at Mecca. He was of the tribe of the Koreishites, who pretended to derive their origin from Koreish, the most illustrious of the twelve sons of Ishmael.

His grandfather was the son of Hashem, a merchant prince, who generously relieved the citizens of Mecca, during a famine, with supplies obtained by commerce. Abdol Motalleb, the grandfather of Mohammed, was also famed in the annals of Mecca for his courage, which once saved the city from capture at the hands of Abrahah, the general of the Kings of Abyssinia. The holy city was invested by a train of elephants and

an army of Africans. A treaty was proposed, and in the first audience, the grandfather of Mohammed, who was the hereditary guardian of the Caaba or temple, demanded the restitution of his cattle. "Why," said Abrahah, "do you not rather implore my clemency in favour of your temple which I have threatened to destroy?" "Because," replied the intrepid chief, "the cattle are mine; the Caaba belongs to the gods, and they will defend their house from injury and sacrilege." The want of provisions or the valour of the Koreish, compelled them to a disgraceful retreat; the tale of their discomfiture has been adorned with a miraculous flight of birds, who showered down stones on the heads of the infidels, and the deliverance was long commemorated by the *éra of the elephants*.*

Mohammed lost his parents at an early age, and was deprived of his patrimony by the rapacity of his relatives. Five camels and an Ethiopian maid-servant were all that remained to him; but the most respectable of his uncles, Abu-Taleb, guided and protected his youth. At the age of twenty-five he entered into the service of a wealthy merchant's widow, who carried on a considerable trade with Syria, and who entrusted him with the transaction of her business, and the guidance of her camels across the desert. The faithful manner in which he discharged his duties gave so much satisfaction to Kadijah, his mistress, that she gave him her hand and fortune. The leisure of opulence permitting him to indulge in all the extravagancies of an exalted imagination, he conceived the hardy idea of uniting the Arabs under one faith and one authority. He withdrew from the world during one month in each year, and passed that time in a cave, near Mecca, where, in solitude, he formed the meditated plan. It will not comport with the limits of our work to give an account of the precepts of Mohammed, of the manner in which he states them to have been communicated to him, or to state how they were set aside, modified or enlarged as the spread of his doctrines disclosed new views to his ambitious eyes. The curious are referred for a summary of these things to the eloquent pages of Gibbon. It is our part to trace the progress of his power and the career of conquest pursued by his enthusiastic successors, the Arabian caliphs.

Except his wife and slaves, few converts to his faith were made during the first years of his pretended mission. The efforts which he made to gain disciples drew on him the enmity of the Koreish, the guardians of the temple of Mecca, who determined to put him to death. His uncle, Abu-Taleb, supported him in opposition to the designs of his kinsmen; but *his* death finally exposed Mohammed to their malice at the very time when the loss of his faithful Kadijah deprived him of his domestic comforts. Fearful that by imprisoning Mohammed, they would but increase the number of his followers, the Koreish agreed that he should be assassinated. But Mohammed was warned

* Gibbon.

of their intentions, and contrived to escape with a companion from his house by night, while his cousin Ali deceived the assassins who watched at the door, by reposing on the bed, covered by the green vestment of the apostle. For three days, the fugitives were hid in a cave, a league from Mecca, where they received information and food from the daughter of the prophet's friend. When the pursuit was ended, they mounted camels and set out for Medina, where they arrived in safety. The inhabitants of Medina had hitherto been divided between two principal tribes, the Charegites and the Awsites; besides these, there were two tribes of Jews, humble allies, but important on account of the taste for science and religion, which they had introduced into the city.

While Mohammed had taught in the Caaba in Mecca, some of the principal citizens of Medina, coming there on a pilgrimage, had become converts to his doctrines. On their return home they had diffused their faith, and by their deputies they formed an alliance with the exiled prophet. In the first conference with Mohammed, ten Charegites and two Awsites, united in faith and love, protested, in the name of their wives, their children, and their absent brethren, that they would forever profess the creed and observe the precepts of the Koran, the exposition of the laws and religious doctrines of Mohammedanism. In the second interview was formed a political association, the foundation of the Saracenic power. Seventy-three men and two women of Medina, held a solemn conference with Mohammed and his disciples, and pledged themselves to each other with an oath of mutual fidelity: they promising, should the prophet be banished from Mecca, to defend him as they would their children, while Mohammed engaged himself to be a friend to their friends, and a foe to their foes, and not to abandon them should the people of Mecca summon him to return to that city. Paradise was the reward promised by the grateful prophet to those who might be killed in his service.* These interviews had occurred before the flight of Mohammed from Mecca, and therefore, when he reached Medina, he was received with joy by many of the noblest citizens, whose example and influence induced the whole of the inhabitants to embrace with ardour the faith and cause of the new sect. Mohammed was conducted in triumph through the city, mounted on a camel, his head shaded by an umbrella, and a green turban unfurled before him for a standard. He now assumed the offices of king and priest, authorizing by his spiritual decrees, the mandates which he issued as a temporal ruler. He forbade the use of wine and enjoined that of the bath, appointed particular hours for prayer, and expounded some part of the Koran daily in the mosque which he himself built in Medina.

Thus the disgraceful flight from Mecca became the era of his glory and the foundation of his empire. Under the name of the *Hegira* or *flight*, the Mussulmans use it to mark the commencement of the reign of Mohammed, and

* Gibbon.



MOHAMMED EXPLAINING THE KORAN AT MEDINA.

the era from which they date their chronology, each year containing twelve moons or 354 days, thus beginning eleven days sooner than the preceding one.

After reigning six years at Medina, Mohammed assumed a fierce and sanguinary tone. He promulgated the maxim that the faith was to be spread by the sword, and when victory smiled on his banners in the first military encounters, his political horizon became wider: and he aspired to triumphs of which at his outset he could not even have dreamed. He exalted the enthusiasm of his followers by the assurance that a night spent on guard was of more value in the sight of God than sixty years passed in prayer; flight on the day of conflict rendered valueless all former good actions; for the martyrs, those who fought for the extension of the faith, who fell on the field of battle, were reserved the highest joys of paradise, such a paradise as exceeded even all the conceptions of the glowing imaginations of the Arabs. Attila, when he addressed his brave warriors on the field of Chalons, assured them that "the soldier protected by heaven was safe and invulnerable amid the darts of the enemy, but that the unerring fates would strike their victims in the very bosom of inglorious peace." Similar to this was the doctrine promulgated by the prophet; and as Attila himself threw the first javelin in the battle, so Mohammed fought in person at the head of his troops. His followers advanced to battle with a fearless confidence, with a picture of the world to come impressed in the strongest manner upon their imaginations; with such a heaven in view, they smiled at death and saw life depart with exultation.*

In the first battle, which was fought against his old enemies the Koreish, he opposed but three hundred and thirteen warriors against a well-armed band of one hundred horse and eight hundred and fifty foot. Yet he demanded three thousand angels from heaven, and when his little army wavered in the action, he loudly exclaimed, "Let their faces be covered with confusion." The troops on both sides heard his voice, and imagined that the heavenly aid which he had demanded was come to his assistance. The Koreish fled, seventy of them were slain and seventy taken prisoners. The holy robber, for the object of the expedition was the plunder of a caravan belonging to the Koreish, received as his share of the prize, twenty thousand drachms. This victory which appeared a miracle in the eyes of his followers, persuaded them that God fought for them as they fought for his glory. From the first victory, they joined with the martial apostle in presaging the conquest of the world.† Abou Sophian, the leader of the enemy, collected an army to revenge his defeat, and Mohammed nothing loath for the encounter, marched against him. But his former victory had rendered his soldiers presumptuous, and they were defeated in consequence of commencing a search for plunder as soon as they had broken the line of the enemy. In this battle, the prophet himself was wounded in the face with a javelin and two of his teeth were shattered with a stone.

* Keightley—Gibbon.

† Voltaire.

In the following year the Koreish advanced against Medina with a powerful host of nations; but the holy warrior, grown prudent, declined a general engagement. During twenty days hostilities were continued; a storm of wind, rain, and hail then overturned the tents of the nations; they engaged in private quarrels, and the Koreish were deserted by their allies. Unable to contend against the fortunate exile, they retired to Mecca to watch his future career. Mohammed marched against the Jews of Chaibar, who were compelled to submit to his yoke, in punishment for the assistance which they had afforded to the enemy at the siege of Medina. He then menaced the Koreishites in Mecca; but gave over the idea of taking the city by force, made a truce with his enemy for ten years, and begged of them the right to visit the Caaba. The Koreish evacuated the city; the army of Mohammed entered and performed their pilgrimage, and retired on the fourth day. The devotion of the pilgrims awed while it charmed the idolaters; they renounced their former faith, and



ENCAMPMENT OF ARABS.

increased the power of the apostle. Ten thousand soldiers were assembled for the conquest of Mecca, the idolaters being now the weaker party were convicted of violating the truce; and the holy city was surrendered by Abou Sophian, who embraced the creed of his enemy that "there is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." With the submission of the capital, the successful impostor received that of Arabia, (A. D. 629.)

The ambition of Mohammed was not confined to the limits of Arabia. Dazzled by his prosperity he carried his insolence so far as to summon the

most powerful kings to embrace his new religion. Chosroes, the Persian monarch, was, at the time when he received the mandate of the prophet, at the height of a career of conquest. Such a demand from an unknown individual in an obscure city, insulted his pride and excited his indignation. He tore the letter in pieces and flung the fragments to the winds. When this was told to Mohammed, he exclaimed in the spirit of prophecy, "thus will God rend the kingdom of Chosroes." The Roman emperor, Heraclius and the prophet, however, were for a time on good terms; but the boldness of the latter increasing with his success, he took advantage of the murder of an envoy, to attack the soldiers of the empire, in the province of Palestine. Three thousand men were all that were selected for this daring enterprise; yet it is asserted that they gained a victory over thirty thousand men at an unknown spot called Muta. On this occasion the prophet had entrusted the standard to Zeid, and arranged that Jaafar and Abdallah should succeed if the first should fall. Zeid died bravely in the foremost ranks: Jaafar then took the standard. His right hand was cut off; he then took it in his left; that also was severed from his body, yet he embraced the standard with his bleeding stumps until he expired with a hundred wounds. Abdallah stepped into his place. "Advance," said he to his soldiers, "advance with confidence; either victory or paradise is our own." The lance of a Roman decided the alternative; but Caled came to rescue the fallen standard. Nine swords were broken in his hand, and his valour withstood and repulsed the superior numbers of the Christians.

The death of the prophet occurred in the eleventh year of the Hegira, (A.D. 632,) in his house in Medina. He expired on a carpet spread on the floor, with his head resting in the lap of his favourite wife, Ayesha. A grave was dug on the very spot, in which he was piously interred by his nearest kinsman. A simple monument was erected on the spot, and over this tomb one of the caliphs built a temple, still the resort of the pilgrims of the Mussulman faith. He neglected to name a successor; and the assembly of the sheiks conferred the power upon Abubeker, to the detriment of Ali, who was his cousin, the most devoted of his followers and his son-in-law. Abubeker assumed the title of caliph or vicar, and caused the different writings of the prophet to be collected into one book called the Koran (*readings*). The religion given by Mohammed was named Islam, (*resignation*), whence those who profess it are called Moslems by the Arabs, and Mussulmans by the Persians.

Mohammed was distinguished for the beauty of his person, and his prepossessing appearance and address. His majestic aspect, his commanding presence, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, in short, every outward gift excited involuntary applause. Ceremoniously polite, he was alike distinguished for his respectful attention to the rich, and his condescension and affability toward the poor. The frankness of his manner concealed the artifice of his views; and his habits of courtesy were imputed to personal friendship or universal benevolence. His memory was capacious and retentive, his wit easy

and social, his imagination sublime, his judgment clear, rapid, and decisive, his thought and action courageous. Possessed of no ordinary powers of eloquence, he was an illiterate barbarian; his youth had never been instructed in the arts of reading and writing, and though the common ignorance exempted him from shame, he was reduced to a narrow circle of existence and deprived of those faithful mirrors which reflect to our mind the minds of sages and heroes.* He appears to have been endowed with a pious and contemplative disposition. So soon as marriage had raised him above the pressure of want, he avoided the paths of ambition and avarice, and till the age of forty, he lived with innocence, and would have died without a name. "It is not our intention to become the panegyrist of the prophet," says a well-known author,† "but truth compels us to acknowledge that he possessed many great and noble qualities, and we might in charity believe, that born as he was in the midst of idolatry, with the whole world lying in darkness around him; the faith of the Persian Zoroaster, by far the purest system of unrevealed religion, sunk and degraded; the Mosaic law become a burdensome and puerile superstition, and even Christianity itself nearly lost beneath the weight of false philosophy and abject idolatry—he may have been sincere in the first enunciation of the sublime sentence on which his religion rests, *THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD.*" The historian of the Roman empire, pursuing the same train of thought, remarks "the unity of God is an idea most congenial to nature and reason; and a slight conversation with the Jews and Christians, would teach him to despise the idolatry of Mecca. It was the duty of a man and a citizen to impart the doctrine of salvation; to rescue his country from sin and error. The energy of a mind incessantly bent on the same object, would convert a general obligation into a particular call; the warm suggestions of the understanding or the fancy, would be felt as the inspirations of heaven; the labour of thought would expire in rapture and vision; and the inward sensation, the invisible monitor, would be described with the form and attributes of an angel of God. From enthusiasm to imposture, the step is perilous and slippery; the dæmon of Socrates affords a memorable instance how a wise man may deceive himself, how a good man may deceive others, how the conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle state between self-illusion and voluntary fraud." Such is the best apology for the character of Mohammed that could be devised by a writer who seems willing to exalt any other religion at the expense of Christianity. When we consider, however, the sensual character of Mohammed's heaven, and the fact that his followers were made to believe, that they would instantly enter upon the enjoyment of it, if they should fall in battle against the unbelievers, we must admit that the principal distinction of Mohammed is, his having been the inventor of the most terrible and destructive form of fanaticism that the world has ever witnessed.

* Gibbon.

† Keightley.

It will be well before reciting the progress of Islamism under the successors of Mohammed, to notice the progress of events in the east since the death of Justinian. Foreign disgrace and internal misery marked the reign of Justin II., the nephew and successor of that monarch. At his death in 578, Justin bequeathed the empire to Tiberius, whose conduct proved the wisdom of the choice. Justin had refused to make an alliance with the Avars, but had entered into a league against Persia with the Khan of the Turks. War therefore broke out between him and Chosroes; but the deaths of the two emperors delayed hostilities for a little while. Tiberius, however, was obliged to defend his dominions against both the



Avars and the Persians. Whilst he was occupied in repelling the Avars from Dacia, his generals, Maurice and Justinian gained the victories of Melitene and Constantine over the latter. The whole hopes of the empire depended upon the daughter of Tiberius, who was received in marriage by Maurice as a reward for his services. Tiberius died four years after his accession to the throne and Maurice assumed the Imperial dignity. Less fortunate as an emperor than as a general, he was unable to keep the advantage which his arms had acquired. The satrap, Bahram, after defeating the Turks, was on the point of penetrating into Asia Minor, when he was conquered by the Romans. He then returned to Persia, and organized a rebellion; Hormuz, the son of the great Chosroes, was then deposed and slain, and his son Chosroes II. was forced to take refuge in the territory of his father's enemy.

Maurice, though avaricious, was generous. He levied a powerful army, and placed it under the command of Narses, who was himself of Persian descent, and who soon succeeded in driving the usurper beyond the Oxus, and re-establishing Chosroes on the throne of his ancestors. The grateful prince made a treaty of close alliance with the emperor, to whom he restored all the conquests of Bahram. The incursions of the Avars now occupied the attention of Maurice, but the incapacity of his generals caused his troops to mutiny, and they marched for the capital under the direction of a centurion, named Phocas. A faction, which the avarice of the emperor had raised up in the city, drove him from Constantinople and proclaimed Phocas emperor. But the sudden elevation of the centurion proved his destruction. He became a tyrant and, by putting to death the whole imperial family, commenced a career which earned for him the hatred and contempt of the people. Pope Gregory, how-

ever, sanctioned his usurpation, and was rewarded for his adulation with the title of Universal Bishop. The people, however, felt too keenly the loss of the virtuous Maurice to agree with the pope in flattering his wicked successor; they therefore invited Heraclius, the son-in-law of Phocas, to avenge the murder of the late emperor. He sailed to Constantinople and the people bound and delivered to him their tyrannical ruler. When Heraclius reproached him with his vices, Phocas simply replied, "Wilt thou govern better?" He was put to death and his son-in-law ascended his throne. (A. D. 610.)

Meanwhile, another avenger of the death of Maurice had appeared in the person of Chosroes II. Everywhere the Persian monarch found allies in those whom the sovereigns and prelates of Byzantium had oppressed; and his conquests spread with alarming rapidity. Heraclius had scarcely ascended the throne when he heard of the fall of Antioch. (A. D. 614.) Damas and Jerusalem were also captured and all of them committed to the flames. Chosroes announced his intention of restoring the integrity of the Persian empire, and of substituting the religion of the worshippers of fire for that of the followers of Christ. The fugitives from Palestine sought refuge in Egypt, where they were kindly received by the Bishop of Alexandria. But the valley of the Nile, which had been sunk in profound peace since the days of Diocletian, now again resounded with the din of battle. The warlike monarch invaded the land of Egypt, conquered it, and reannexed it to the Persian empire. (A. D. 661.) Asia Minor made no better resistance, and the Avars, the Persians' allies, advanced to the very walls of Constantinople.

Heraclius, reduced to his capital and a few maritime provinces, was disposed to transport the seat of government to Carthage; but the patriarch opposed this dishonourable measure, and inspired the emperor with feelings more worthy of his position. A message sent by Chosroes, when he scornfully refused to listen to the entreaties of the Roman ambassadors for pardon and peace, aroused the energies of the emperor. When Heraclius was brought in chains to his footstool, or had abjured Christianity and embraced the Magian religion, then would Chosroes grant peace. Twelve years had the subjects of Heraclius been oppressed by their enemies and he had interposed no aid or protection; now he courageously resolved to take the field, and entered on a career as active and glorious as his former conduct had been supine and disgraceful. He boldly transferred the theatre of war beyond the Taurus, and signalized his first campaign by a victory at Issus, where Alexander had defeated Darius. Landing his army at Trebizonde in the following year, he entered into a close alliance with the Khozar Turks; and the Persian monarch found his attention wholly occupied with the defence of his own frontier. The Avars before Constantinople were cut to pieces in 626, and Heraclius, reinforced by forty thousand Khozars, reconquered all his lost territory. His troops overran the greater part of Persia, defeated the Asiatics wherever they met them, destroyed all Chosroes's splendid palaces, and carried off his hoarded treasures. Yet he

made no effort to stop the desolation, and even refused the terms of peace which were offered to him by the humanity of Heraclius. His subjects regarded him as the author of their calamities, conspired against him, and elevated his son Schiroueh or Siroes, to the throne. This unnatural prince, pretending that he was compelled by the clamours and importunities of his people and nobles, cast the unfortunate monarch into a dungeon and put him to death. He then concluded a peace with Heraclius, which ended the long contention between the two empires. The kingdom of Persia exhausted by the late sanguinary contest, was left to perish under the accumulated evils of a dreadful famine, the disputes of proud and luxurious nobles, a succession of weak sovereigns, and the attacks of the enthusiastic Saracens. Thus was the prophecy of Mohammed accomplished.

In the popular estimation, Heraclius had far exceeded all the great leaders who had appeared before him; Moses, Alexander, and Hercules were totally eclipsed by his superior merit. Yet feebleness was the most prominent trait of his character. The most valuable portion of the Persian spoils had been expended in paying the expenses of the war or lost by a storm in the Euxine, and the emperor found his conscience greatly oppressed by the thought that he was bound to repay to the clergy the moneys which he had received from them for purposes of general defence. Knowing the weakness of their royal debtor, the priests were inexorable; a perpetual fund was required to satisfy them; and the unfortunate inhabitants of the provinces, who had been plundered by the arms and the avarice of the enemy, were again impoverished by the lawful taxes of their own rulers. The loss by the sword, of two hundred thousand soldiers, was of less fatal importance than the decay of the arts and agriculture during the war; and though a victorious army had been summoned round the standard of Heraclius, the unnatural effort appears to have exhausted rather than exercised their strength. While the emperor was engaged in celebrating useless triumphs in Jerusalem or Constantinople, the Saracens attacked and pillaged an obscure town on the confines of Syria, and cut to pieces a body of troops advanced to its relief. These robbers were the apostles of Mohammed; their fanatic valour had emerged from the desert; and in the last eight years of his reign, Heraclius lost to the Arabs the same provinces which he had rescued from the Persians.

The first act of Abubeker, after superintending the sepulture of his master, was the destruction of a new religion, which was promulgated by an impostor named Moseilama. Caled, who had rescued the fallen standard at the battle of Muta, and who, for his gallantry on that field, had received the surname of "The sword of God," succeeded in suppressing the new faith by exterminating Moseilama and all his followers.

The deplorable weakness of the Persian and Byzantine empires favoured the designs of Abubeker, who needed constant employment for the military spirit which had been awakened in the minds of the Arabs by the teachings

of the prophet. Osama, the son of Zeid, ravaged Syria while Caled subdued the province of Irak, anciently Babylonia. The army assembled for the conquest of Syria was the most numerous that had been hitherto raised by the Saracens. A detachment, sent by Heraclius to meet it, was cut to pieces; while a Moslem division, under Abu Obeidah, was defeated by the imperialists at Gaza. Caled, however, took the command, and succeeded in making himself master of Bosra. At length he laid siege to Damascus; a city which, according to tradition, Mohammed had declared to be the earthly paradise, designed for the inheritance of true believers.

Caled, the sword of God, the scourge of the infidels, related this tradition to his followers with all his fiery eloquence, and their ardour for the siege was raised to a pitch of frenzy. A Roman army of one hundred thousand men was sent to relieve the threatened city; but three several times it was defeated; in the last engagement with the loss of half its numbers. Damascus consequently fell, on the very day that the aged Abubeker expired. (A. D. 634.) The character of the first caliph was remarkable for generosity and moderation; he did not reserve for himself any portion of the vast wealth acquired by his victorious armies, but distributed his share to his soldiers and to the poor. He was always easy of access; no petitioner for mercy or claimant of justice went unheard from his presence; both by precept and example he laboured to retain the republican simplicity so remarkable in the early history of the Saracens; and though the partisans of Ali regard him as a usurper, they still reverence his memory on account of his moderation and his virtue.*

The claims of Ali to the office of caliph were now again set aside in favor of another, the army unanimously choosing Omar as fittest to succeed the venerable Abubeker. Under this caliph the conquest of Persia was effected. He it was into whose hands fell the great standard of Persia, the ever memorable blacksmith's apron. It had grown by the liberality of the Persian monarchs, to be twenty-two feet in length and fifteen in breadth, and was enriched with jewels of the highest value. Omar caused it to be divided for distribution. In the battle in which it was captured, and which lasted several days, the Arabs lost but three thousand men, whilst the Persian army was almost totally annihilated. A similar result attended the battle of Nahavend, which decided the fate of the country. But Yezdêgerd, the last of the Sassanidee, proved himself worthy of a line of ancestors among whose names are those of Ardesheer, Sapor, and Chosroes. He maintained an unyielding resistance for ten years, when he was slain by a miller, with whom he had sought refuge, (A. D. 651), thus ingloriously ending the fortunes of a house which had ruled Persia for four hundred and fifty years.

It would be tiresome to recount all the advantages gained by these indomitable warriors. We pass to the year 643, when the caliph Omar was

* Taylor.

assassinated by a slave. During his reign of ten years and a half, Syria, Chaldæa, Persia, and Egypt were completely subdued; thirty-six thousand cities, towns, and castles had been taken; four thousand Christian churches and fire and idol temples had been destroyed; and fourteen hundred mosques had been erected in which the faithful might perform their devotions. The worth and dignity of Omar were such that Ali himself testified his sense of them by yielding his claims to him, and retiring to a life of privacy and prayer. Omar also reposed great confidence in Ali, and lost no opportunity of consoling him under his disappointment by respectful attentions. At his death, he refused to determine whether his own son or Ali should succeed him; but left it to the decision of six electors, chosen from the most respectable of the Mussulmans.

Had Ali deigned to promise a servile conformity to the Koran, the traditions and the usages of the two preceding caliphs, he might have obtained the office; but his lofty spirit could not bow to such indignity, and the choice fell upon Othman. The feeble temper and advanced age of this caliph were



MURDER OF OTHMAN.

incompetent to the support of the government, and he quickly lost the esteem and confidence of the Moslems. The Egyptian army revolted and besieged him in Medina, and though their anger was momentarily appeased by his concessions, they retraced their steps and murdered him in his palace, as he sat

with the Koran in his lap, expecting the approach of death. During his reign, the Saracens had continued to gratify their thirst for conquest, Moawiyah the governor of Syria subdued the island of Cyprus, (A. D. 647,) while Armenia and Nubia fell before the armies of Syria and Egypt. Rhodes too, was captured by Moawiyah; its celebrated Colossus was thrown down, broken in pieces, and sold to a Jew, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal of which it was composed.

The death of Othman was followed by a tumultuous anarchy, which was ended after five days by the election of Ali to the empire, 655. But though the brother of Ayesha had marched at the head of the murderers of Othman, and the widow of the prophet had probably been an accessory to his death, she now affected to believe that Ali had promoted the murder of his aged predecessor, whom she determined to avenge. Two Arabian chiefs, Telha and Zobeir, having failed to procure the government of Assyria, which they had conquered, raised the standard of revolt. Ayesha joined them, determined to prosecute to the last moment of her life, her enmity toward the husband and children of her stepdaughter. With greatly superior numbers she encountered the army of Ali, under the walls of Bassora. Telha and Zobeir were slain in the attack; the guard of Ayesha, was destroyed, and the cage in which she sat was stuck full of javelins and darts: yet she escaped unhurt from the dangers of the field, heard unmoved the reproaches of Ali, and was dismissed to her proper station, the tomb of her husband. Ali, with his usual generosity, assigned to the widow of his beloved prophet a large pension.

The attention of the sovereign was next directed to Syria, where Moawiyah had assumed the title of caliph. One hundred and ten days were consumed in a desultory war, in which the superior valour and humanity of the lawful caliph were brilliantly manifested. He challenged his adversary to a personal conflict, but it was declined; and, at length, Moawiyah finding the number of his supporters rapidly decreasing, affixed a Koran to the top of a pike, and offered to settle all disputes by its authority. Ali's soldiers, having a high respect for the reputed sanctity of their enemy, forced their commander to consent to a truce. In the negotiations, Amrou distinguished himself as the friend of Moawiyah, and contrived to have him chosen caliph, the signal for renewing the war. Three Charegites, discoursing of affairs in the temple of Mecca, concluded that neither of the prominent Moslems should have the authority of sovereign, because they all injured the cause of religion and brought distress upon the faithful by their dissensions. They therefore determined to assassinate Amrou, Moawiyah, and Ali on the same day. The plot proved fatal only to the virtuous Ali. The wound which he received was mortal; that given to Moawiyah did not prove fatal, and the assassin who had undertaken the murder of Amrou, mistook the person of the prince, and stabbed the deputy, who occupied his seat. (A. D. 661.)

Ali was sixty-three years old at the time of his death. Though he was



MECCA.

the most amiable of the caliphs, he was inferior in statesmanship to his predecessors; the qualities which rendered him beloved in private life proving fatal to him in an age of convulsion and civil warfare. His hereditary claim and lofty spirit were offensive to the aristocracy of the elders, who desired by a free and frequent election, to bestow and resume the sceptre. The friends of Ali censured him for having neglected to secure his interests by declaring his rights, as well before the death of the prophet as during the contests for the succession. They also charged him with the desertion of his own cause when he accepted a place among the six electors, thereby acknowledging their right to decide upon his claims. His family continued to be revered long after his death, but their popularity excited the jealousy of succeeding caliphs, and most of them perished by open violence or secret assassination.*

Moawiyah restored the military spirit of the Arabs to its former strength, and the office of caliph was retained in his house for seventy years. The fourteen princes who held the sceptre during that time form the Ommiyade dynasty, so called from Ommiyah, a prince of the Koreish and the ancestor of Moawiyah. Its founder, though he had declined the challenge of Ali to a personal combat, was a man of courage. His successors possessed little merit, and never partook in the toils and glories of war.

Three attempts were made upon northern Africa, before it was added to

* Gibbon—Taylor.

the empire of the Saracens. An imperial army of thirty thousand men was first defeated by the lieutenants of Moawiyah, who did not conquer the land, but returned laden with booty. Akbah, however, made the first effectual step towards the subjugation of the country. He marched from Damascus at the head of ten thousand Arabs, forced great numbers of African auxiliaries to join his standard, and fought his way across the continent to the shores of the Atlantic. His zeal was checked by the sight of a boundless ocean, and he lamented that he could not march still forward to spread the religion of the prophet. Yet he was unable to preserve the conquests he had made. The Greeks and Africans revolted, and he fell in battle against them. His successor, Zuheir, attempted to avenge him, but shared his fate; and the final conquest was reserved for Hassan, governor of Egypt, who took and destroyed Carthage.

The descendants of Theodoric, king of Spain, had by this time become quite enfeebled; absence of foreign foes having caused the neglect of military discipline. The death of Witiza had been followed by the usurpation of Roderic, a Visigothic nobleman. The two sons of Witiza, who were thus deprived of the succession, had many friends in the country, among whom was Count Julian, the governor of Ceuta and Andalusia. Besides the feeling of resentment common to all the partisans of the injured orphans, Julian had a great cause of offence in the wrong done to him by Roderic in violating his daughter. He therefore, in 710, invited the Arabs into Spain; and they generously complied with his request.

A small body of troops under Tarik, landed at the pillar or point of Europe, which they thence called *Gebel el Tarik*, (mountain of Tarik,) since corrupted into Gibraltar. Many Moslems followed them, and after some indecisive skirmishes, they met the troops of Roderic in a final battle, on the banks of the Gaudaleta, near the town of Xeres. Though they were vastly inferior in numbers, the defection of Archbishop Oppas and the sons of Witiza turned the fortune of the day against Roderic, whose troops gave way in all directions. Roderic fled on the back of his fleetest horse, but he lost his life in the waters of the Guadalquivir. The whole country submitted to the victorious Saracen, Toledo opening her gates to him, and in less than four months he was master of all the fertile provinces in Spain. A small but gallant band of patriots alone held out against the invaders; and these, under command of Pelagius, a cousin of Roderic, maintained themselves in the valleys and caverns of Cantabria, and eventually founded there the realm of the Asturias, called by the Arabs Galicia, the nucleus of the Christian kingdoms of Spain, which gradually arose in the middle ages. While the caliph gave audience to the ambassadors who informed him of the rapid career of victory pursued by his lieutenant in Spain, emissaries arrived from the east, to announce the success of Moslemism in India.

Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, was almost independent of the Frankish monarchs; his sovereignty was recognised in Gascony and Aquitaine, and he was



DEFEAT OF RODERIC.

chosen as common leader by the chiefs of the south, who found it necessary to lay aside the feud in which they had so long wasted their strength. The Provençals proclaimed him king, but the Septimanians were overwhelmed almost before they were aware of their danger. They hoped to surprise Eudes, but the result of a siege and battle near Toulouse checked their ardour, and prevented them from further hostilities until 726, when another invasion was defeated. Eudes thus acquired a high reputation over all Europe; adventurers flocked to him from all parts; a Saracen emir deserted the cause of Islamism, and made an alliance with him; it appeared probable that he would transmit to posterity high renown as a hero, and extensive power as a monarch. But Abderame, who governed Spain, suddenly attacked and defeated the friendly Moor, who was slain in the Pyrenees, while attempting to escape. Abderame next led a force of eighty thousand warriors through the mountain passes into Gascony. The Rhone was passed and the city of Arles besieged; an army of Christians attempted the relief of the city; but they were defeated with immense loss, and many thousands of their dead bodies were carried down the rapid stream into the Mediterranean. Abderame then passed without opposition the Garonne and Dordogne, but beyond them he found the intrepid Eudes, who had formed a second army and sustained a second and a most disastrous defeat. Eudes fled to implore the speedy aid of Charles Martel, and Abderame spreading his victorious career beyond the confines of Aquitaine, displayed the crescent beneath the walls of Sens and Autun.

In compliance with the request of the Aquitanian prince and for the preservation of his own power, Charles Martel marched against the invaders, whom he found in the centre of France between Tours and Poitiers. Here the hitherto unbroken course of western conquest was stopped. The Frankish leader had conducted his march under the cover of a range of hills, and came

so unexpectedly upon the Saracens that Abderame was almost surprised. Six days of desultory fighting showed the superiority of the Saracen archers and horsemen in a skirmish or light encounter, but the hand to hand contest of the seventh day decided the fate of France. The heavy-armed and slow-moving Franks were regarded as an easy prey by the Saracens, who relied upon their activity and superior numbers, whilst the gigantic Austrasians regarded the Saracens in turn, as pigmies, and despised both them and their array. Equal skill and daring characterized the commanders, and each possessed the full confidence of his troops. Charles led his soldiers to the onset. The sabre and the battle-axe speedily levelled the first ranks of the foe, whose arrows and javelins whistled in vain around the mailed heads of their antagonists. But the Saracen leader continually presented a new front; when his line was broken and his men dispersed he rallied them again, extended or contracted his lines at pleasure, and seemed to prolong the contest in order to weary the arms of his opponents with mere slaughter. Yet the tall and strong barbarians of the west fainted not in the work of strife; "they remained unmoveable as a wall, seeming as bound together by a bed of ice."*

Ali, the cousin of the prophet, during the war against Moawiyah in Syria, displayed the most irresistible courage. As often as he smote a rebel, he shouted the Allah Acbar, "God is victorious," and in the tumult of a nocturnal battle he was heard to repeat four hundred times that terrible exclamation. No less vigorous were the strokes which the iron-hand of Charles inflicted upon the heads of the unfortunate Arabs who came within his reach; from their resemblance to the strokes of a hammer on the anvil was it that the mayor of the palace derived his surname of Martel. The valour of Eudes displayed itself in a hundred ways; and his successful manœuvre of wheeling upon the rear of the Saracen host first caused it to give ground. The Arabs became disordered and took to flight; but Abderame had never learned to retreat; he could neither be driven nor tempted from his post, but fought on with a few faithful followers until his head was cloven by the axe of a Frank. Thus were the Saracens taught to respect the Pyrenees as the bulwark of Christendom.†

The grandson of Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed, bore the same name as the prophet himself. He had long been engaged in forming a party which should support him in his design of obtaining the Caliphate, and his emissaries laboured zealously in his cause in all parts of the empire. At his death, his son Ibrahim succeeded to his plans, his popularity, and his influence, and soon afterwards the intrepid Abu Moslem raised in Khorassan the black standard of the house of Abbas. The parties which distracted the Saracenic empire were henceforth known by the colours chosen for visible distinction; the badge of the Abassides was black; green was chosen by the Fatimites, the descendants

* Isidore of Beja.

† Gibbon—Taylor—Pictorial France.

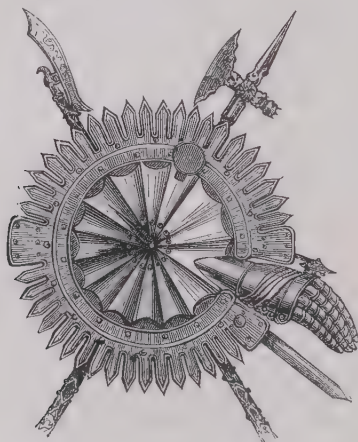


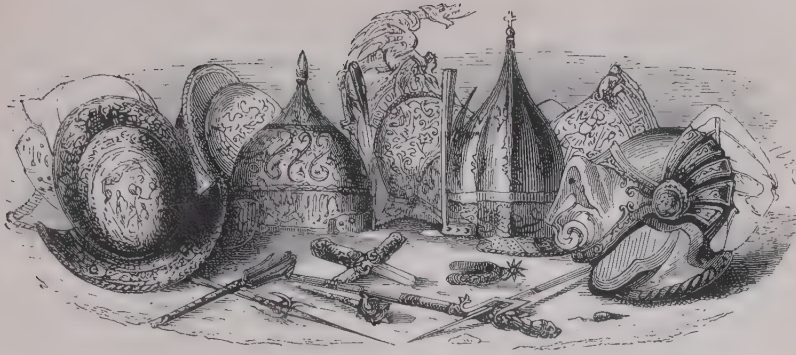
BATTLE OF POITIERS.

of Ali; and white was used to mark the partisans of the Ommiades. Abul Abbas, or Abdullah, surnamed from his bloody reign, Saffah, (the sanguinary,) overthrew Mervan, the last of the successors of Moawiyah in Egypt. The unfortunate caliph was put to death, the graves of his ancestors were broken open, their bones scattered, their memory accursed, and all of their race who were captured were mercilessly slain.

Abdalrahman, a descendant of Moawiyah, succeeded in eluding their vengeance. After a series of most wonderful adventures, he reached Spain, which had not yet been torn by dissensions. There he founded the second dynasty of the Ommiades, which ruled from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees above two hundred and fifty years. The Edrissites of Mauritania, and the Fatimites and Aglabites of Eastern Africa, followed this example of separation. The Abassidæ resolved to change the seat of government from Damascus to a place which had not been defiled by the presence of the Ommiades; they therefore founded Bagdad. They were general patrons of literature, science, and the arts, none more so than Haroun al Raschid, the hero of the Arabian nights. From Bagdad the love of learning spread over other parts of the Saracenic empire; the Ommiades and the Fatimites imitated the Abassidæ in encouraging its developement, and the Saracens were possessed of considerable learning while the Europeans were yet sunk in barbarism. During the seventy years which followed the death of the Emperor Heraclius, 641—711, the Byzantine throne was filled by seven princes of his house, all of whom rendered themselves detestable. It is enough to offer a mere chronological list of them, with the observation that their names, beyond all others, blacken the Byzantine annals. Heraclius Constantine was poisoned in 641, and his brother and successor, Heracleonas, was mutilated in the same year. Constantine III. like Nero murdered his brother. He died by the hands of a slave at Smyrna in 668. Constantine IV. put out the eyes of his brothers, and left the crown to Justinian II., a boy who filled the whole country with horrors for ten years, when he was deposed and tortured, 695. Leontius next usurped the throne. He was deposed in 698 by Tiberius Absimaris; Justinian II. then renewed his claim to the throne, was re-established by the Bulgarians, and afterwards beheaded, 710. His son Tiberius, the last of the line of Heraclius, was slain in a church where he had taken refuge, 711. Philippicus Bardanes, Anastasius II., and Theodosius III. followed in quick succession. Leo the Isaurian, who had risen from the plebeian rank, came next. He had scarcely seated himself on the throne when he was called to defend his capital from the attacks of the Saracens. During thirteen months Constantinople was closely besieged and blockaded, and its lofty walls, and the use of the newly-invented and terrible Greek fire, only saved it from destruction. The successful defence of the capital, however, stopped the career of Moslem conquest in the east of Europe, as the victory of Poitiers had saved the west. "In spite of reason," says Keightley, "we always take pleasure in following the career of victory;

the mind feels elated by the contemplation of energy in action, and our moral sense is condemned to silence for the time. But there is an agreeable feature in the narration of the Arabian conquests which lessens our horror of the bloodshed and misery attendant upon war—they were not sanguinary. The Arab is by nature averse to blood, and little disposed to cruelty. Hence few acts of atrocity stain the early annals of the Arabian empire, and we can follow the warriors from victory to victory, without having our feelings outraged by details of savage ferocity. All was honourable warfare; the choice of the Koran, the tribute, or the sword, was given to every people whom they attacked. If they accepted the first, they were received as brethren in the faith; if the second, they became subjects; if they tried the third without success, they still had their option of the former two.” Under the direction of the former caliphs the Arabians applied themselves to the study of the Greek language and arts, and they quickly adopted as their own the learning of the ancients. Thus they learned the elements of mathematics, medicine, astronomy, natural history, and philosophy, and the extent to which they carried their development almost warrants the appellation sometimes conferred upon them, that of the fathers of science. Agriculture, commerce, and manufactures are greatly indebted to them; their poets, historians, and metaphysicians pursued a literary career as brilliant as the march of the successors of the prophet was glorious; schools arose wherever they settled, from the banks of the Euphrates to the Tagus; the lights of science illumined even the dark and barbarous shores of northern Africa; and the wealth and splendour of Bagdad, Ispahan, Kufa, Damascus, and Cordova are described by Moham-medan historians in a manner which even now challenges belief.





NORMAN ARMOUR.

CHAPTER IV.

Times of Charlemagne and his Successors.



BEFORE his death, Pepin had divided his kingdom into two parts; and the national assembly of nobles, sanctioning a partition which was so obviously advantageous to them, immediately crowned Carloman king of Austrasia and the German States, and Charles, (afterwards surnamed Magnus, *Charlemagne*,) of Neustria, Burgundy, and Aquitaine. (A. D. 768.) The death of Pepin le Bref, was followed by revolts and insurrections in the tributary kingdoms. In Italy, Didier, the Lombard king, aided by the Duke of Bavaria, revolted from the Franks; whilst Aquitaine, which had scarcely a month before been conquered with so much difficulty by Pepin, attempted to recover its independence. Hunald, the aged father of the murdered Waifre, left the monastery, in which he had been immured for twenty-

three years, and placing himself at the head of his numerous vassals, prepared to deliver his country and revenge the death of his son. Instead of assisting his brother, in these exigencies, Carloman quarrelled with him and refused his aid. Charlemagne, however, collected his leudes and vassals and marched against Hunald. That unfortunate man was forced to retreat, and soon after was taken prisoner and condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

The unexpected power and valour of the young king of Neustria awed, for a time, the King of the Lombards, who submitted to Charlemagne and paid the desired tribute.

From the pursuit of his enemies, Charlemagne next turned to chastise his

brother for refusing to assist him in the war. The dethronement of Carloman was prevented by his death in 771, and his widow having fled with her two children to the court of Didier, Charlemagne took into his own hands the kingdom of Austrasia, and thus once more united France under one government.

The next year, 772, witnessed the commencement of the long and desperate struggle of the Saxons for liberty. They were a people inhabiting the whole of the northern region of Germany, extending from Slavonia on the east, to the German Ocean on the west. The population comprised three distinct races: the Westphalians, on the north; the Angrians, in what is now called the kingdom of Prussia; and the Eastphalians, bordering on Bohemia. They still, as in the time of Tacitus, disdained to dwell in towns or villages, or to depend on any of the peaceful arts for their subsistence, choosing rather to keep up a system of continual predatory incursions on their neighbours. They were idolaters, worshipping their idols or images in the great forests which extended throughout the whole length and breadth of their country. They had long been tributary to the Franks, and though they often attempted to throw off the yoke, yet the want of union among themselves always prevented it. While governed by the Merovingians, they were permitted to retain their ancient customs, and the yoke was comparatively light. But under Charles Martel and Pepin le Bref, their institutions were attacked, a new religion was forced upon them; churches were built in their territories, and around them houses and villages began to cluster; they were persecuted on account of their manners, their religion, and their political institutions.

These innovations were rendered so oppressive in the beginning of the reign of Charlemagne, that the Saxons were instigated to a universal revolt. The missionaries who were imposed upon them by the Saxons, constantly insulted their national pride. One of them* even went so far as to threaten them with the arms of the great empire. The people were only prevented from taking his life by the personal interference of the Saxon elders. The young men, however, burnt down the church which the Franks had built at Davenport. They next proceeded to take possession of all the castles and strong places which had been built in their territories by Charles Martel and Pepin, and to these places they conveyed their wives and children, their maimed and sick, together with all their gods and wealth. In one of them, the castle of Eresburg, near Paderborn, they deposited their great idol, the Herman-saul. This was a statue, armed cap-à-pie, supported on a rude pillar, carrying in its right hand a standard on which a rose was painted, and in its left, a balance. On its buckler a lion was represented, and on its breast there was a rude carving resembling a bear.

Charlemagne appeared, and captured all the fortresses in succession, the only one which offered a show of resistance being that near Paderborn, in

* St. Libuin.



CHARLEMAONE CROSSING THE ALPS.

which their god, Herman-saul, was deposited. This too, was taken, the fortress razed to the ground, and the idol burned to ashes. The Saxons were thus scattered, but not vanquished; they retired from the sight of their conqueror and hid themselves in the impenetrable forests and marshes, ready whenever an opportunity should occur, to renew the war. Vengeance was now added to the many and strong motives by which they had at first been actuated. Nor had they to wait long for a fit opportunity to revolt.

In Italy, the pope and the king of the Lombards had been menacing each other for years, but they were both afraid to proceed to open hostilities. The pope longed to add Lombardy to his dominions; but he could not do so without the aid of the Franks. Didier, on the other hand, was enraged at seeing the territory of the exarchs in the hands of the pope, and was only restrained from burning the Holy City by the terror of Charlemagne. This state of things, however, was soon brought to a crisis. Didier solicited the pope to consecrate as Kings of France, the two sons of Carloman, who had fled to him for refuge. This the pope refused to do, and Didier immediately raised an army of Lombards and marched against him. Pope Adrian manned the walls of the city, and having put everything in a position to resist a lengthened siege, despatched messengers, calling urgently for the help of Charlemagne.

This was the juncture which had so long been coveted by Charlemagne. He had now a pretext for interfering in the affairs of the Lombards; and the pope, by his message had declared himself entirely subservient to his wishes. He immediately appointed a rendezvous for his army at Geneva. At that place he divided his forces into two grand divisions, and crossing the Alps at Mount Cenis and the Great St. Bernard, chased the Lombards before him until they were compelled to seek refuge within the walls of Pavia and Verona. The Frank monarch immediately laid siege to both places. Hunald, who had escaped from prison and thrown himself, with Didier, into Pavia, compelled the people to hold out until he was stoned to death in the streets by the infuriated women. Didier, fearing the same fate, surrendered the city to Charlemagne. Didier's son, who commanded in Verona, fled to Constantinople; and all Lombardy, with the exception of Beneventum, fell into the hand of the Franks. Charlemagne then added the title of King of the Lombards to that of King of the Franks. While the siege of Pavia was in progress, Charlemagne paid a visit to Rome, where he was received with the greatest honour, and treated as the deliverer and saviour of the Holy City.

No sooner had Charlemagne quitted Italy in order to oppose the Saxons, than an insurrection, excited by Adalgisius, the son of Didier, broke out in Friuli and Trevisa; but the prompt defeat and execution of Rodgand, the Duke of Friuli, put an end to the revolt and confirmed the obedience of the other Lombard chiefs.

In the meantime the Saxons, who thought that Charlemagne's Italian

expedition would have lasted longer than it really did, had again revolted. The assembly, or council of Worms, which convened in the spring of 776 took a solemn oath to prosecute the war until the Saxons should be converted to Christianity. Charlemagne marched against them and surprised them on the banks of the Lippe. They submitted, and he built a fort at the place. In token of their entire submission they consented to receive Christian baptism. Charlemagne called a general convention of the Saxons of Paderborn, when he exacted from the chiefs an oath of fealty to him as their suzerain. One only of the Saxon chieftains escaped this humiliation. Witikind, the leader of the Westphalians, instead of repairing to the convention at Paderborn, fled to Denmark. There he collected around him many of his discontented countrymen, and many warlike Danes, and held himself in readiness, as soon as Charlemagne should retire, to fall upon his garrisons and again work out the liberty of his country.

While Charlemagne was at Paderborn, (A. D. 777,) he was waited upon by several Saracen emirs from Spain, who solicited his protection for their oppressed countrymen from the tyranny of Abderame. As soon, therefore, as the Saxons had been pacified, or had disappeared, Charlemagne convoked the *Champ de Mai*, or assemblage of the nobles and people, in Aquitaine. War was speedily resolved on. The Franks entered Spain, and in 778 laid siege to Zaragossa. The fall of Zaragossa was followed by the submission of all the country from the Ebro to the Pyrenees, over which, under the name of the *Spanish March*, Charlemagne placed a Frank governor. On returning towards France, the rear-guard of his army was attacked by the Gascon mountaineers under Lupus, their duke, in the Rocky pass of Roncesvalles. These active soldiers of the mountains descending with irresistible force, swept all before them. The most celebrated warriors of Charlemagne, his peers or paladins, and the elite of his army perished in this terrible struggle. Among these paladins was Roland, the nephew of the king, whose deeds have been celebrated by poet and minstrel, in every age since his death.

The absence of Charlemagne in Spain encouraged the Lombards and the Saxons again to revolt. Charlemagne first marched to Italy, where he soon succeeded in punishing the rebels, although they had called in the assistance of the Greeks. He then shaped his course to the banks of the Elbe and the Weser and commenced a war of extermination against the Saxons. Witikind had entered Saxony at the head of his band of Saxons and Danes, and declared his country independent. In this war, prompted by vengeance on the one hand and by despair on the other, both parties were bent upon exterminating each other. In one day, in the year 782, the Franks barbarously massacred 4,500 Germans, justifying themselves with the thought that they were extending the blessings of religion and civilization. This outrage was soon revenged by Witikind, who, in an ambush, captured 2,400 Franks, every one of whom was sacrificed. Thus was the war carried on in Germany, until at least a



hundred leagues of territory was laid waste and desolate, and Witikind the brave, was compelled to relinquish all hopes of freedom, and sue to his conqueror for mercy. (A. D. 785.) He, with many of his followers, were baptized; Charlemagne declared all the Saxons Christians, and death was proclaimed to be the punishment of apostacy, or their return to the worship of their fallen gods, or of the rejection or refusal of any of the rites or usages of the church of Rome.

Tassillo, Duke of Bavaria, had become brother-in-law to the Lombard Duke of Beneventum, by marrying a daughter of Didier, and now made common cause with the Lombards. They determined on another revolt. The Duke of Beneventum called the Greeks to his aid, while Tassillo called in the Slavi and the Huns or Avars. Three armies of Franks were sent to Italy; by them Tassillo was surrounded and compelled to surrender. He was then cited as a common criminal before the assembly at Ingelheim. He was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. This sentence was commuted to that of the tonsure, and imprisonment in a monastery. Bavaria was annexed to the empire of Charlemagne. (A. D. 786.)

During the bloody wars of the Ommiades and Abbassides, which finally resulted in the downfall of the former and the elevation of the latter house, the Greeks had taken the opportunity to revenge their wrongs and extend the boundaries of their empire. Mohadi, however, the third caliph of the Abbasides, while the Byzantine throne was occupied by Irene and Constantine, sent against them an army of ninety-five thousand Persians and Arabs, under the command of his second son Haroun. His encampment on the opposite heights of Chrysopolis, (781,) was the first intimation which Irene had of their approach towards Constantinople. The empress was compelled to purchase an ignominious peace, by the payment of an annual tribute of seventy thousand dinars.

Five years afterwards, Haroun, the commander of this expedition, ascended the Moslem throne; and in a reign of twenty-three years, he invaded the Roman empire eight times. Whenever the emperors refused to pay the tribute, the ignominy of which they vainly wished to soften by calling it an exchange of royal gifts, the commander of the faithful taught them the sad lesson, that a month of depredation was more costly than a year of submission. When Irene was deposed and banished in 802, her successor, Nicephorus, determined to make an attempt to throw off the yoke of the Saracens. He sent an epistle to the caliph Haroun al Raschid, in which he alluded to the game of chess, which had even at that early date, spread throughout all the countries of the east. "The queen," (he spoke of Irene,) "considered you as a rook, and herself as a pawn. That pusillanimous female submitted to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians. Restore, therefore, the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword." At these words, the ambassadors cast a bundle of swords before the foot of the throne. The caliph smiled at the menace, and drawing his scimitar

Samsamah, a weapon of historic or fabulous renown, he cut asunder the feeble arms before him, without turning the edge, or endangering the temper of his blade. He then dictated an epistle of tremendous brevity: "In the name of the most merciful God, Haroun al Raschid, Commander of the Faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold, my reply."* The emperor not only beheld his reply, he was made to feel it.



AFTER a short interval the caliph marched against him with an immense army; desolated the plains of Phrygia; and after compelling the Romans to submission, retired to his palace of Racca, on the Euphrates. The distance of Racca from Constantinople, and the inclemency of the winter, induced Nicephorus to violate the peace. With astonishing rapidity the commander of the

faithful crossed the snows of Mount Taurus, with three hundred thousand men, and with as much apparent ease as if the season were the most propitious; met the emperor with one hundred and thirty-five thousand regular soldiers. The battle which followed stands unparalleled in the history of warfare for the obstinacy with which it was contested, and the cruelty by which it was attended. Nicephorus was ashamed of submission, and Haroun was determined on victory. The Roman emperor escaped from the battle with three wounds, leaving forty thousand of his men dead upon the field. The Saracens then swept over the whole of Asia Minor, marking their course with devastation and ruin, and leaving their answer to the message of the emperor in letters of blood and fire. They continued their progress of desolation until Nicephorus was obliged to retract his haughty defiance. A treaty was made, in which it was stipulated that the ruins of Heracla, a city which had been destroyed by the Saracens should be forever left as a caution and a trophy; the tribute was again imposed and the coin in which it should be paid was to be stamped with the image and superscription of Haroun and his three sons. This plurality of masters afterwards proved an advantage to the Romans. When Al Raschid died, his sons were involved in civil discord, and he who remained conqueror was too much engaged in his domestic concerns to pay much attention to foreign conquests.

In the meantime, Charlemagne, having advanced to the Elbe, found himself in the presence of the Slavi, who were at war among themselves. He was

* Gibbon.

urged to assist the Abrodites against the Wiltzi. He lent them his aid, and finally, after conquering their enemies annexed their country to his empire.

Occupying thus the country between the Elbe and the Oder, Charlemagne encountered the Huns or Avars, a wild Tartar people then inhabiting the marshes of Hungary, from which they, at will, made predatory incursions into the country of the Slavi on the one side, and of the Greeks on the other. They lived in an immense camp or *ring*, which was a large wooden village, extending over a whole province, the streets and houses of which were so far apart that a shout could scarcely be heard from one to the other. This ring was encircled and defended by hedges of trees, standing close together and having their branches interlaced. Within this enclosure, which is said to have been twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference, was deposited the plunder of centuries, consisting of articles of immense value, the worth or use of which was almost unknown to their ignorant possessors. This was the royal ring. Besides it there were eight other circles, themselves ranged in the form of a circle, and each separated from the next by a space of thirty or forty miles.

These barbarians now sought to exact tribute from their new neighbours, the Franks, as they had long been accustomed to do from the Greeks. Charlemagne, however, sent three large armies against them, which penetrated as far as the Raab, burning a few huts; but which failing to find the clue to the construction of their rings, became confused among marshy plains and bogs, where they were almost worn out with fatigue, and where they lost all their horses, while seeking an invisible enemy. Charlemagne's army being thus crippled, he was compelled to recruit it by pressing into his service the people of Frisia and Saxony. It was not enough for Charlemagne to compel these people to receive Christianity, but he now forced them to forsake the language, manners and customs, and even the dress of their fathers, and to fight in the ranks of the Franks, their greatest enemies. There was no hope for these recruits. Death was their only refuge. If they advanced against the Moors of Spain, the Lombards of Beneventum, or the Avars of Hungary, the weight of the battle would surely fall upon them, and their lives being accounted as nothing, not one of them ever expected to return to his friends and his country. Such being their hard lot, they preferred seeking death in their own land to dying in distant and strange countries. They revolted, and in one night massacred the lieutenants of Charlemagne, destroyed the priests, burnt the churches, and returned with increased alacrity to the worship of their ancient gods. They entered into a covenant with the Avars and agreed to make common cause with them against the Franks.

In the same year, 792, the Saracens invaded Aquitaine, burnt the towns and villages in their road, defeated a large army drawn together by William, Count of Toulouse, and carried off many prisoners and great booty to Spain.

The prospects of Charlemagne were gloomy. The whole world seemed to be united against him. Several works of importance, which he thought

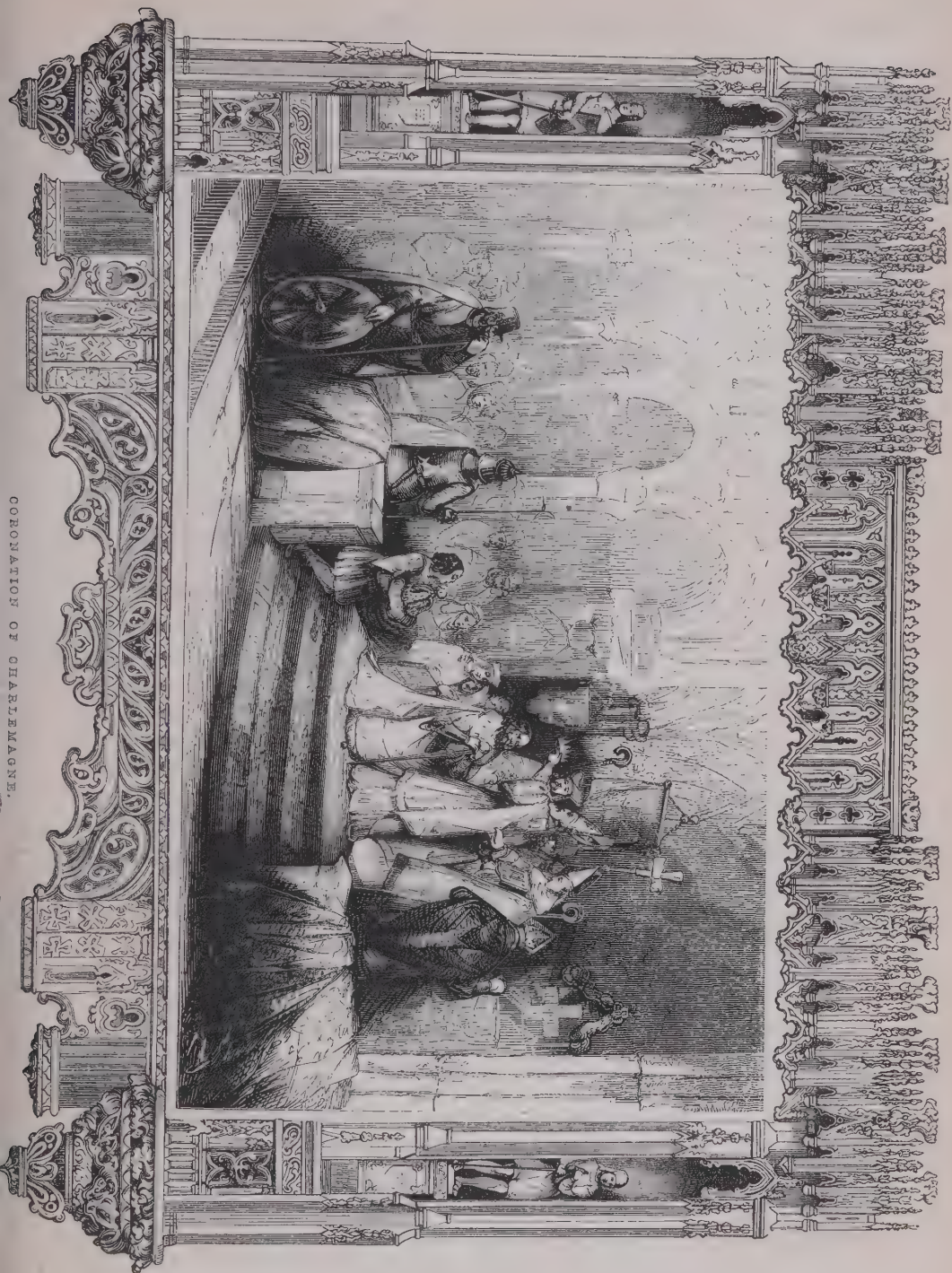
necessary for the defence of his empire, were hindered in the execution or destroyed as soon as finished. Nothing daunted by these reverses, the great conqueror seemed to awaken from a short sleep; and it was not long before he assumed his former ascendancy.

As he found it impossible to subdue the Saxons, he determined to make a desert of their country. He formed a permanent encampment on the Weser, from which he made inroads in every direction, carrying off more than one-third of the inhabitants, and driving them out of their country towards the south and west, settling them in the midst of Christians, and people speaking a different language, having different manners, and whom they had always considered as hostile. Charlemagne thus followed the example of the Babylonians and Persians when they carried the captive Jews to the banks of the Tigris, and the Chaldeans to the shores of the Persian Gulf.

In 794, a son of Charlemagne with an army of Lombards and Bavarians, undertook an expedition against the Avars. Crossing the Danube and the Theiss he approached them from the south, and happened to arrive at the precious *ring* in which the khan or chagan and the chiefs of the Huns were assembled, and in which was hoarded the wealth obtained during two hundred and fifty years of depredations upon nearly all the nations of Europe and Asia. The Huns, being surprised, fled or were slain. Their treasures fell into the hands of their conquerors, and served to enrich France and Italy. It would seem as if this hoarding race had lost its life with the gold over which it brooded—like the dragon of Scandinavian poetry; for it at once fell into a state of pitiable weakness. Its chagan became a Christian, and they who remained Pagans were constrained to eat out of wooden platters along with the dogs, at the gates of the bishops sent to convert them. Some years afterwards they humbly sought from Charlemagne refuge in Bavaria, alleging their inability to defend themselves against the Slavi, of whom they had formerly been the absolute masters.*

After the extirpation of the Huns, Pope Leo III., the successor of Adrian, visited Charlemagne at Paderborn, and besought his protection from the daggers of assassins, by whom he had been attacked in the streets, and from whom he had been miraculously delivered. He was honourably received by Charlemagne, who compassionated his misfortunes and sent him back to Rome with a guard of counts and bishops. The next year, the king of the Franks visited Rome in person, and Leo having sworn to his innocence of the crimes imputed to his charge, his enemies were silenced and those who had attacked him were banished. Charlemagne was received with the greatest honours at Rome; the people hailed him as the deliverer—the saviour of their city and their religion. In order to please them still more, he threw off the simple dress of his countrymen and assumed that of a Roman patrician. On Christmas day, (A. D. 800,)

* Michelet's History of France.



Charlemagne being engaged in prayer on the steps of the altar of the church of St. Peter, Leo suddenly placed a crown of gold upon his head, pronouncing at the same time the old form of words used at the coronation of every Christian emperor—"Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans." The clergy and people by whom the church was filled, repeated the formula as with one voice, and the church of St. Peter's resounded with the acclamations of thousands. The pope then consecrated his head and body with the royal unction, and, together with the assembled clergy and princes, did him homage. Charlemagne took an oath to preserve the faith and privileges of the church, and finished the ceremony by making rich presents and offerings to the shrine of the apostle. The emperor afterwards denied all knowledge of the intentions of Leo; but there is such a weight of presumptive evidence showing that he expected such a thing, if he did not actually come to the Holy City merely to receive the honour, that such an assertion cannot easily be credited.

The empire, however, was still divided. The aged Irene governed in the Eastern, while the authority of Charlemagne was confined to the Western moiety of the ancient empire. In order to unite them, the pope projected the marriage of Charlemagne with Irene. Neither of the persons principally concerned, however, would listen for a moment to the proposal.* It has been said, notwithstanding, that Irene despatched an embassy to Aix-la-Chapelle, to negotiate the terms of such a marriage, and that the negotiations were only broken off by her deposition and exile.†

The sway of Charlemagne now extended over the entire realm of France with the exception of Brittany and the Basque Provinces, which still maintained their independence; over Germany and as far north as the Baltic, including Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, Bavaria, Switzerland, and Hungary, to the Danube; over Italy as far south as Beneventum; and over that part of Spain between the Pyrenees and the Ebro. His empire may therefore be said to have been bounded by the Atlantic on the west, the Baltic on the north, the river Vistula or Elbe on the east, and the Mediterranean on the south. The government of these immense regions required no ordinary political skill and knowledge of human nature; and it is the talent and judgment which he displayed in his civil administration that entitles Charlemagne to the rank which he holds as a great historical character, more than all his victories or the magnitude of his domain. Not that in the present day all he did could be approved or tolerated; but what was equally good or better, his measures were adapted to the age in which he lived, and had the effect, rude and savage as we may now deem them, of at once planting the seeds of general civilization, and imparting an impulse to their growth. If we may not regard him as a philosopher, intellectually in advance of his generation, he appears to

* Michelet.

† Pictorial France.

have been at least a sound-thinking and practical statesman, capable of tracing passing events to their causes, and of drawing thence useful hints for the future—not in solitary instances, but throughout his long and arduous career. His means of achievement were incessant activity of body and mind; and his great aim seems to have been the establishment of a power, which might become the rich and peaceful heritage of his posterity.*

Charlemagne, however, had many vices and failings, which it is the imperative duty of the historian to record, as well as his virtues. He was not remarkable for chastity. He had many mistresses, and married five times. On the death of his fifth wife, he selected four concubines with whom he contented himself. He had six sons and eight daughters—the latter very beautiful and very frail, and whom he was suspected of loving with too strong a passion. He is accused of inordinate ambition, and his treatment of the sons of his brother Carloman is brought as proof; the massacre of the four thousand five hundred Saxons, speaks loudly against his humanity and justice. His military career was not distinguished by any very difficult siege or battle, and in every engagement he enjoyed a superiority over his opponents in point of numbers or of discipline. His laws were only temporary, discovering little which could be designed for posterity, and he made a great mistake in dividing his kingdom among his sons.†



HOUGH the empire of Charlemagne," says M. Guizot, "can scarcely be called a *state*, which implies something of too regular a stamp, and raises ideas too little in accordance with the society over which he presided, it is certain that he, the master of an immense territory, was indignant at beholding all things therein in a most dissevered, anarchical, and brutish condition, and devoted his energies to lessen their hideousness. His first measure was to despatch his *missi dominici*, (royal commissioners,) into the different provinces of his empire, to inquire into facts, and either reform what was amiss or make reports thereon to him. He held general assemblies much more regularly than his predecessors, and compelled the attendance of almost all the influential men in his territories. These were not free assemblies, nor convoked for what we should call deliberation; but were used as a means of acquiring information as to facts, and of introducing regularity and union among his disorganized subjects."

In 801, the Caliph Haroun al Raschid, wishing to secure the friendship of the enemy of his enemy, the usurping Caliph of Cordova, sent a messenger with presents to Charlemagne. These presents sent from Bagdad to Aix-la-Chapelle seem to have filled the beholders with wonder and awe; among them were the keys of the holy sepulchre, a consecrated standard of Jerusalem; a

* Bussey and Gaspey's History of France.

† Michelet. Gibbon.

wheel-clock that struck the hours; a hand-organ; an ape, and an elephant. Charlemagne acknowledged the presents and sent an embassy to Bagdad for the purpose of forming an alliance with the Commander of the Faithful and securing the protection of Christians throughout the east.

The next year, (802,) Nicephorus, Emperor of Constantinople, sent ambassadors to Charlemagne, and a treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between the two emperors.

About the year 808, Godfrey the Northman, first landed in Frisia, and commenced the system of plunder and devastation which he afterwards carried on with so much avidity. The fleets of the Greeks and the Saracens also made occasional descents on the undefended coasts of the immense empire of the Franks. From its very size, Charlemagne found it impossible to protect it from these pirates. It is true, that he placed armed barks at the mouths of the rivers, but they could not defend the whole coast. His immense empire begins to crumble and become unwieldy. At one time two hundred armed barks fell upon Frisia took immense booty, and disappeared. Charlemagne collected men to repel them; but when the army came together they were nowhere to be seen.

The religious and literary glory of the age of Charlemagne was principally derived from three foreigners. Benedict of Aniane, a Goth, undertook to reform the religious houses, and reconcile the differences introduced by St. Colomb and the Irish missionaries of the seventh century. Alcuin the Saxon, one of the greatest men in the history of the period, was first installed as tutor to Charlemagne, and afterwards to the nobles and princes about the court. Clement, an Irish monk, was intrusted with the instruction of a number of children of all ranks and nations. Besides these three, the Frankish monarch gathered about him many other learned men. Among them the principal were Peter of Pisa, a professor in the university of Pavia; Paul Warnefrid, the historian of the Lombards; and Theodulfe, and Leidrade, two eminent churchmen and writers.

He, however, did not limit his zeal for the revival of letters to the protection and encouragement of men of learning. He began to study himself. Although, on his accession to the throne he could not write, he soon became a proficient in an art at this day considered indispensable. He next obtained some insight into the languages and astronomy. From Peter of Pisa, he learned grammar, and from Alcuin, rhetoric and logic. He made advancement in his court to depend in some degree on the acquirements of the candidates. He established a sort of academy in his palace, which he called the Palatine college, from which the university of Paris is supposed to have arisen. He instituted besides, two classes of schools, one of them intended for small children, or those who were just commencing to receive instruction. In these institutions, the psalms were read, and singing, arithmetic, and grammar taught. The other class of schools was intended for pupils of more advanced age and

higher attainments, in which skilful teachers were employed. In these the liberal arts and the Holy Scriptures were studied. The instruction to be obtained in these schools, it may be supposed, was very limited, but still it was instruction and a great step taken towards farther improvement.

Nor was the king satisfied with merely founding these institutions; he often visited them and instructed the teachers in the course to be pursued, and the branches to be taught. He gave out questions to which he required the answers of the bishops, the monks, and the pupils: he examined personally into the proficiency of each pupil, and liberally encouraged the diligent while he threatened the idle and dull with his displeasure.*

Being compelled to undertake certain military expeditions, he placed Clement at the head of one of these schools. On his return, after a long absence, he ordered Clement to bring those with whom he was intrusted into his presence, that he might satisfy himself concerning the manner in which they had spent their time. Finding that those of the middle and lower classes of the people displayed works better than he had hoped for, seasoned with wisdom, while the sons of the nobles could bring nothing forward but mere trifles, he placed those who had pleased him on his right hand, and the others on his left, and thus addressed them. Turning first to those on his right, he said, "A thousand thanks, my sons; for your diligence in labouring according to my orders, and for your own good. Proceed; endeavour to perfect yourselves, and I will reward you with magnificent bishoprics and abbeys, and you shall be ever honourable in my sight." Then turning to those on his left, he addressed them in a thundering tone, and with bitter irony said, "But for you nobles, you sons of the great, delicate and pretty minions as you are, proud of your birth and your riches, you have neglected my orders, and your own glory, and the study of letters, and have given yourselves up to ease, sports, and idleness, or to worthless exercises; by the King of Heaven, (his usual oath,) I care little for your nobility and beauty, however others may admire you; and hold it for certain, that if you do not make amends for your past negligence by vigilant zeal, you will never obtain anything from Charles."†

Thus, Charlemagne used all his influence and contributed by his own example to cultivate not only letters, but music, painting, sculpture, architecture, manufactures and commerce. He imported from Italy to Aix-la-Chapelle, many illuminated manuscripts; he encouraged the Jews to trade with his subjects; he protected and maintained at his court, many Saracens who were proficients in all the arts which are conducive to man's comfort and convenience. Commerce was greatly extended by means of the pilgrims who were continually going and returning to and from Jerusalem. They carried with them the productions of their native land, and brought back in exchange articles far more valuable to them.

Charlemagne caused the general assembly of the nation to be held twice

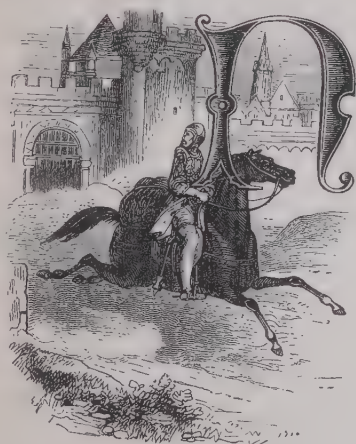
* Pictorial France.

† Michelet. Traits Remarquable.



CHARLEMAGNE IN HIS IMPERIAL COSTUME.

a year. This assembly had been annually convened since the time of Clovis, and every freeman was entitled to be present and take part in the deliberations. Latterly, however, the inconvenience of attending had caused the meetings to be thinly attended, and, finally, none came but such as were specially summoned. To remedy this evil, and to give the meeting more the appearance of a popular assembly, he directed the counts to bring with them the local judges, who being thus compelled to give an account of the performances of their functions, were restrained much more than formerly within legal bounds, and the wants of the people were more likely to be made known, and redressed. The people consequently took more interest in the affairs of the government, and the assemblies began to be numerous attended. These assemblies, however, were not of a legislative character. Their only apparent use under the Merovingians, was to enable the king to ascertain the feelings of his subjects on any questions of moment, and to gather the nobles and their retainers together for war. Charlemagne submitted projects of law and policy to their discussion; but the adoption or rejection of any measure remained solely with him. He made use of them, coming as they did from every part of his immense empire, to inform himself of passing events, and of the wants and necessities of his subjects. The laws or capitularies were framed according to the information thus received, and of course cannot be considered as a regular system. According to Gibbon, "They compose, not a system, but a series of occasional and minute edicts, for the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the economy of the imperial farms, the care of poultry, and even the sale of eggs," thus including the most trivial as well as the most important objects.



OTWITHSTANDING his previous efforts to preserve its integrity, Charlemagne, in a capitulary issued at Thionville, in 806, divided his empire among his three legitimate sons, Charles, Pepin, and Louis; giving to one Italy, to another Germany, and to the third Aquitaine. Charles and Pepin, however, dying before their father, he gave Italy and Bavaria to Bernard, the son of Pepin, and caused Louis to be elected emperor by the diet of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 813. He died some months afterwards at that place, which he had chosen for the capital of his empire.*

Nicephorus I., the Emperor of the East, had his territory invaded by Crunnus, of Bulgaria, and, in 811, was defeated and slain in a battle with that prince. His son and successor, Stauracius, escaped

* History of the Middle Ages. Michelet. Pictorial France.

wounded from the field. Six months afterwards he died of his wound, and was succeeded by Michael I., who, in 813, was also defeated by Crunnus.

Louis, surnamed Le Debonnaire, (the meek,) had been educated by St. William, a monk of Toulouse, who strove to instil into his mind the necessity of a reformation. He went farther, however, than they wished or expected; he began by reforming religious abuses; declaring that bishops had nothing, or ought to have nothing to do with the practice of arms, and that it was inconsistent with their profession to follow the king on horseback. He put the monasteries under the severe rule and discipline of St. Benedict, the founder of the order of Benedictine monks. Thinking the court no place for priests, he dismissed Wala and Adalhard, grandsons of Charles Martel, to their monasteries. He purified the palace by driving thence his father's concubines, his sisters' lovers, and his sisters themselves. The latter were consigned to different convents and their lovers were banished.

He then convoked a national assembly at Aix-la-Chapelle, from which *missi dominici* were sent into every province of the empire to observe, hear, and report on the local administration of justice. He listened with attention to the complaints of the Saxons, had many of their grievances redressed, absolved them from the tyranny of the clergy, and restored them the right of succession, of which his father had deprived them. He published an edict for the relief of the Spanish Christians; and he permitted the clergy to choose their popes; a right which they can scarcely be said to have enjoyed during the reign of Charlemagne. At the same assembly in which these changes were wrought, Bernard, the son of Charlemagne's eldest son, was invested with the government of Italy, while Louis and Pepin, the two sons of Louis were appointed to the government of Bavaria and Aquitaine. Lothaire, his eldest son, was to be emperor and the successor of Bernard in Italy.

Thus the inheritance of conquests and of spoiliations fell into the hands of a simple and just man, who chose at any cost to make reparation for all the injuries committed by his father. The barbarians, who recognised his sanctity, submitted their disputes to his arbitration. He sat on the judgment seat, in the midst of his people, like an easy and confiding father. He went about repairing, comforting, and restoring; and it appeared as if he would willingly have given away the whole empire in making reimbursement.*

Such an emperor was not suited to the age in which he lived. Neither was he suited to the people; they required a governing mind and spirit; a man who, at the head of his army, would keep them, as well as surrounding nations at a respectful distance. In less than three years after the accession of Louis, his kingdom was filled with revolts from one end of it to the other. Rome revolted from Pope Leo III. He sent to Louis for aid. Before he could give any assistance, the rebels were compelled to yield to the arms of

* Michelet.

Bernard, King of Italy. (A.D. 815.) Leo dying soon after, his successor, Stephen IV. adopting a milder course, reconciled the proud men of Rome, the rulers of the ancient world, to the sway of a priest. Stephen soon after visited France, and at Rheims consecrated Louis and Hermengarde, Emperor and Empress of Rome.

In 817 an assembly was held, and a capitulary published, making new division of the empire. In this law Louis associated his three sons with himself in the government. To Lothaire was given the title of emperor and colleague of his father; Pepin was crowned King of Aquitaine and Burgundy; and Louis, of Bavaria and the Slavonic Marches. Notwithstanding this division, Louis still held the whole empire and declared it to be indivisible—a puny effort to uphold the crumbling realm.

In the mean time, Bernard, King of Italy, seeing that his kingdom would be given, at the death of his uncle Louis, to his cousin Lothaire, thought that such a disposition was unjust, and, instigated by the monks Adalhard and Wala, he adopted means for collecting an army, declared his independence, and laid claim to the whole empire as being the son of Charlemagne's eldest son Pepin. The barbarians, however, considering the title of a younger brother preferable to that of a nephew, he was soon betrayed by those in whom he confided, and deserted by all his friends. Seeing the impossibility of defending himself against Louis, Bernard accepted the promise of security given by Hermengarde, and resolved to throw himself on the mercy of the emperor. He hastened into France, met Louis at Châlons-sur-Saône, delivered himself up, and betrayed all his accomplices (A.D. 818). Hermengarde, it is said, judged the culprits and condemned them all to death; but the emperor would not consent to their execution. His wicked empress, however, at last induced him to consent to Bernard's being deprived of his sight; and she had the sentence executed in such a manner that the unhappy king died three days afterwards. Hermengarde, however, did not long survive him; she died in October 818.

While these proceedings against Bernard and his accomplices were in progress, other insurrections broke out on every side. The Slavi of the north and Pannonia, with the assistance of the Danes and the Bulgarians, arose on one side; while, on the other, the Basques, of Navarre, aided by the Saracens, and the Bretons, depending on their own untried strength, seemed to spread the flame of civil war. They were all, however, soon crushed; the country of the Bretons was occupied and garrisoned by foreigners for the first time; the Basques were defeated, the Saracens repulsed; the Slavi were subdued and compelled to serve against the Danes, and the city of Hamburg was founded as an additional barrier against the incursions of the men of the north. The Bulgarians were, with difficulty, driven out of Italy.*

* Pictorial France. Michelet.

While Louis was thus apparently flourishing in strength and justice, overcoming and humbling every enemy that presented himself, the Empire of the East was advancing, with as rapid strides as that of the West, to dissolution. In 813, Leo the Armenian was elected to the imperial dignity by the Thracian soldiers and his brother officers. Affecting at first, to hesitate about the acceptance of such a laborious honour, Michael the Phrygian, his companion in arms, advanced towards him with his drawn sword, saying, "With this sword, I will open the gates of Constantinople to your imperial sway; or instantly plunge it into your bosom, if you obstinately resist the just desires of your fellow-soldiers." The choice was soon made: Leo V. was crowned emperor and he reigned seven years and a half. Near the end of that time, Michael the Phrygian, who had made himself so instrumental in raising Leo to the throne, repeatedly conspired against him. He was as frequently detected, warned, and pardoned. Again conspiring against the life of the emperor, he was detected, tried, convicted of treason, and condemned to be burnt in the furnace of the baths, on Christmas day (A.D. 820). The Empress Theophano, however, urging the impropriety and impolicy of such a spectacle on such a day, a reprieve was granted by the emperor. That reprieve was fatal. Michael found means to correspond with his friends, and early on Christmas morning while the emperor was assisting at the matins in his chapel, the conspirators entered, disguised as priests, with swords under their robes. They attacked Leo, who, being unarmed, attempted to defend himself with a heavy cross. His enemies were too numerous for him, and Leo was slain at the foot of the altar.

Michael II. the Phrygian, surnamed, from an impediment in his speech, the Stammerer, was taken from the mouth of the furnace to be placed upon the throne of the Cæsars. So sudden was the change in his fortune, that a smith not being at hand, he was compelled to fill the throne for two or three hours before the fetters could be removed from his legs. He was ignorant and indolent. His title was disputed by Thomas the Cappadocian, a Slavonian, and the last of the three generals, (the other two being Leo and Michael,) who had led the armies of Nicephorus. With an army of eighty thousand barbarians, Thomas, in 822, laid siege to Constantinople. His camp was attacked by the Bulgarian allies of Michael; he was taken prisoner; his hands and feet were cut off; and then being seated upon an ass he was led through the streets of Constantinople, subject to the insults of the people, and even of the emperor himself, his old companion in arms. Michael II. died in 829, and his son, Theophilus, succeeded to the empire.*

During the reign of Charlemagne the throne of Wessex, in England, was usurped by Beortric, and Egbert, the rightful king, was compelled to seek an asylum at the court of France. In 800, however, Beortric was poisoned by his wife, and Egbert, assisted by the King of the Franks, returned and

* Gibbon.

claimed his crown. He first established his authority over Devonshire and Cornwall; and then turned his arms against the Mercians, who had invaded Wessex. The two armies met near Wilton: that of Egbert was inferior in number to the other, but according to an old chronicler, "being lean, meagre, pale, and long-breathed, they gained a complete victory over the fat, corpulent, and short-winded Mercians." Mercia, including Kent and Essex, was then attached to Wessex. Two years afterwards, (825,) Egbert conquered Northumbria, and thus reduced the old Saxon Heptarchy into one kingdom which was called Wessex. No sooner was this approach to consolidation made, than the Danes, or Northmen, appeared, and again threw everything into confusion. In 832, they landed on the isle of Sheppry, and carried off the plunder to their ships. The next year they again landed, but this time they were met by the forces of Egbert, at Charmouth. A desperate battle ensued; the Danes fought valiantly for a long time, and then made good their retreat to their ships. These Danes in their incursions along the coast had formed a sort of intimacy with the native Britons of Cornwall, and, in 834, landing on their coast, they were joined by the Britons in great force, and marched against Egbert. They met him at Hengsdown-Hill, but were there defeated with great slaughter. Egbert died in 836 leaving his kingdom to his son *Ethelwulf*.*



NORTHMAN OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

During the reign of Michael the Stammerer, at Constantinople, and Almon at Bagdad, the islands of Crete and Candia were both captured by the Saracens. The former was overrun, in 823, by some Andalusians, who prowled about the seas with about forty galleys. They wandered fearlessly through the whole island, taking whatever they fancied, as well captives as goods. On their return to the shore they beheld their small fleet in flames, and they began to rage and threaten the inoffensive inhabitants and would probably

* Pictorial England.

have murdered their captives, had not their chief, Abu Caab, confessed that he had set fire to their galleys. They accused him of madness or treachery. "Of what do you complain?" he replied. "I have brought you to a land flowing with milk and honey. Here is your true country; repose from your toils, and forget the barren place of your nativity." "And our wives and children?" "Your beauteous captives will supply the place of your wives, and in their embraces you will soon become the fathers of a new progeny." They fortified their camp on the bay of Suda. They soon afterwards removed to a more desirable part of the island, built a fortress which they called Candax, a name, corrupted to *Candia*, now applied to the whole island. They soon repaired the loss of their fleet, and kept and defended the island for upwards of 138 years against the whole power of the east.

In Sicily, a young man who had stolen a nun from her convent was sentenced to lose his tongue. He escaped and fled to Africa, but soon returning with a fleet of one hundred ships, seven hundred horses, and ten thousand foot, he gained some partial victories and laid siege to Syracuse. That city was relieved by the Greeks, the leader of the invaders was slain, his fleet destroyed, and his followers reduced to the last extremity of famine. In this emergency they were reinforced by the arrival of an army of Saracens from Spain. They soon overran the whole island, except Syracuse, and established themselves at Palermo, as their head-quarters. After a siege of twenty days Syracuse was taken; the deacon, Theodosius, with all the bishops and clergy were dragged, chained, to Palermo, where they were thrown into subterranean dungeons. In a short time the religion of Christ was totally eradicated, and Sicily became as completely a province of the Fatimite Caliph, as if it had never been under the dominion of the Greek Christians.*

Theophilus, who succeeded his father on the throne of Constantinople, was distinguished for his rash valour, and his arbitrary, and sometimes cruel justice. Five times he marched against the Saracens, but he was defeated by them. His justice was very irregular, and seemed to spring from the spur or passion of the moment, rather than from any established rule or law, and the penalty often bore no proportion to the offence. "A poor woman threw herself at the emperor's feet to complain of a powerful neighbour, the brother of the empress, who had raised his palace wall to such an inconvenient height, that her humble dwelling was excluded from light and air! On proof of the fact, instead of granting, like an ordinary judge, sufficient or ample damages to the plaintiff, the sovereign adjudged to her use and benefit the palace and the ground. Nor was Theophilus content with this extraordinary satisfaction; his zeal converted a civil trespass into a criminal act; and the unfortunate patrician was stripped and scourged in the public place of Constantinople." This extreme severity had the effect of banishing everything like injustice from the

* Gibbon.

empire, and at one time, after a scrutiny of seventeen days, not a complaint or abuse could be found in the court or city.

The marriage, as well as many other acts of Theophilus, seems to have happened by chance. Of two beautiful virgins, he did not know which to choose for his wife. Walking between them one day with a golden apple in his hand, and trembling on the verge of a declaration, but not being quite determined to whom to address it, he could only observe that "Women had been the cause of much evil." The beautiful Icasia, replied, perty, "And surely, sir, they have likewise been the occasion of much good." This displeased the royal lover, he turned aside in disgust, and bestowed the golden apple upon the modest and discreet Theodora. Icasia hid her mortification and herself in a convent. Theodora merited the love, but nevertheless she did not escape the severity of her lord. He one day beheld a vessel richly laden, the property of his wife, steering into port. With a sharp reproach, he told Theodora that her avarice had degenerated the character of an empress into that of a merchant; and immediately ordered the ship, with its valuable cargo, to be burned. Just before his death, his envy and jealousy caused him to sacrifice one of his best friends. A young Persian prince, whose father had been expelled from the throne, had been brought up at his court. More than once he discovered and disconcerted the schemes of the enemies of Theophilus. On his dying bed, however, the emperor, fearing the virtues of the young prince, demanded his head. When brought in to him, he recognized the features with almost savage delight; "Thou art no longer, Theophobus," he said; and at the same time sinking back on his couch, he faintly added, "Soon, too soon, I shall be no more Theophilus." He expired in 842, entrusting the guardianship of the empire and of his infant son Michael, to the Empress Theodora.

For thirteen years Theodora, governed her subjects with wisdom and prudence. She endeared herself to the Greeks by her restoration of the images and the extirpation of the Iconoclasts. She strove, but in vain, to instil the principle of virtue into the mind of her son. In his eighteenth year he rejected her authority, and long before he was a man Michael III. took upon himself the weight of an empire. He immediately fell into all the vices of Nero; he squandered the great riches which had been amassed by his father and grandfather; he delighted in the amusements of the theatre, and sighed to excel in the charriot-race and the hippodrome; he wasted his strength by the indulgence of love and intemperance; he paid no attention to the affairs of the empire; he spent his time in amusement, debauchery, and sacrilege; and in the thirtieth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, (867,) he was murdered while drunk and asleep, by Basil the Macedonian, the founder of a new dynasty.*

* Gibbon.



LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE.

In the mean time the prosperity of Louis-le-Debonnaire was brought to an end by his marriage with the talented but unprincipled Judith, the daughter of Welf or Guelf, a Bavarian count. She bore Louis a son, Charles, and after that event, seems to have bent her whole mind and influence to his aggrandizement. She induced Louis to take from his sons the richest province of Germany and bestow it upon Charles. To add to the discontent of his people as well as his sons, Louis made a foreigner, Bernard, the son of St. William of Toulouse, the king's old tutor, his chief favourite. Bernard soon after became also the favourite of the empress. This conduct incited the three sons of the king, headed by Lothaire, to make war upon their father. The old

man, at the instigation of Judith, in 832, made public confession of his faults and errors, and solicited pardon of all whom he had in any way wronged. This had no effect on his unnatural sons, and they twice took their father prisoner. The last time it occurred was in 833, near Colmar, in Alsace. The two armies encamped in a vast plain, which before that time was called Rothfield. There Louis was betrayed by his officers; and in a single night his whole army, with the exception of a few faithful followers, deserted him and joined Lothaire. At dawn, Louis, turning to those who still remained with him, said, "Go ye also to my sons, I wish not that any should suffer loss or injury for my sake." They departed with tears in their eyes, and Louis was again a prisoner in the hands of his sons. From this desertion of the nobles who had all sworn allegiance to Louis, the plain has since been called Lügenfeld, or the Field of Lies. Judith and the young prince Charles were imprisoned at Tortona, and the old king was thrown into the monastery of St. Médard, at Soissons. He was soon afterwards forced by Lothaire to make a confession, in which he acknowledged himself as the author of all the misfortunes which had fallen upon France, and then to do public penance in the church of St. Médard.

This treatment of his father, so enraged Louis of Bavaria, the best of the emperor's sons, that he, with his brother Pepin, proceeded against the usurper, and, in 834, compelled him to emancipate his father; who again assumed the sceptre of the empire. Lothaire, however, persisted in his rebellion until the next year, when finding himself in the presence of his father whose army he could not now corrupt, he was fain to ask pardon for his offences, at the

feet of the king. Louis fully forgave him on the condition that he would immediately retire to Italy, and not leave it again without permission.

Unfortunately, Louis-le-Debonnaire had not learnt wisdom from his misfortunes. His first act was to order the nobles to restore to the churches the lands which they had usurped; his next, to deprive Louis the German, the best of his sons, of all his possessions but Bavaria. Then Pepin of Aquitaine dying, his two sons were disinherited, and their patrimony divided between Lothaire and Charles, the son of Judith. Irritated by this unjust division, Louis the German took up arms against his father. The aged monarch sank under the fatigues and vexation of this new war, and as he was crossing the Rhine near Mentz, he felt that his end was approaching. He remained and pitched his tent upon a small island near Ingelheim, where, on his death-bed, he pardoned his son Louis, in these words, "As he cannot come to me to offer satisfaction, I acquit myself thus towards him, and take God and all of you to witness, that I forgive him everything. But it will be your office to remind him, that although I so often pardoned him, he must not forget that he has brought the grey hairs of his father to the grave in bitter grief." He died on the 20th of June 840, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign.

Lothaire, who succeeded his father as emperor, immediately began to assume great authority over his brothers. It was not to be expected that they who had not scrupled to take up arms against their father should be united among themselves. Lothaire aided Pepin, the son of the late King of Aquitaine, against his brother Charles, afterwards surnamed *le-Chauve*, (the Bald). This was the commencement of another civil war, which, for the space of ten years, involved the empire in the most fearful anarchy. The emperor Lothaire and his nephew Pepin, combined against Charles and Louis of Germany. The armies met at Fontenay, and Charles and Louis sent to inform Lothaire that they did not wish to fight against their brethren; and if they could come to an amicable arrangement, they would "present him with all they had in the army, save the horses and men; or, they would cede to him a part of both their kingdoms; or, they would divide all France into equal portions and give him his choice." They told him they would wait his answer until the twelfth hour of the next day; after which they would abide the judgment of God. Lothaire treated the messengers with insolence and the message with contempt; and accordingly the two kings marched upon him the next day at the precise



FRANK WARRIOR OF THE TIME OF
LOUIS-LE-DEBONNAIRE.

hour specified. The battle which followed is said to have been one of the most sanguinary within the memory of man. Some historians assert that forty thousand men were slain, while others extend the number to one hundred thousand. Lothaire was defeated, and compelled to fly from the field; but the victorious princes were so weakened as to be incapable of pursuit. They retired to Strasburg, where, in the presence of the people and in the popular language, they renewed their alliance.

Shortly afterwards, (843,) deputies from the three kings met at Verdun and concluded a treaty, which severed at one blow the imperial empire of Charlemagne, and divided Germany and Italy from France. By this treaty Germany, as far as the Rhine; and on the other side of the Rhine, Mentz, Spire, and Worms, were given to Louis, who, in the language of his kingdom, was henceforward called Ludowick the German. Lothaire retained the imperial dignity without the power; the sovereignty of Italy, and a long, narrow strip of land between Germany and France, from the Alps to the Netherlands. Charles the Bald, received for his portion, the western division of the whole Frankish kingdom, or what is now known by the name of France.*



CHARLES THE BALD.

During the disorders subsequent to the death of Louis-le-Debonnaire, the Normans, instead of being watched and repelled if they attempted to enter the mouths of the rivers, were employed by the younger Pepin against Charles the Bald. It is said that Pepin even went so far as to adopt their religion in order to secure their aid in recovering his patrimony. Encouraged by him, in 841, Oscar the Sea-king, sailed up the Seine and burned the city of Rouen, after carrying the plunder to his ships. In 843, the Northmen entered the Loire, when they plundered and burned the city of Nantes. Pepin was soon overcome by Charles the Bald, but the Northmen, who now tasted of the beauty and fertility of France, were not so easily banished. Charles tried every means in

his power, before appealing to the sword. In 845, an immense army of these marauders, advanced to the very gates of Paris, and Louis, instead of attacking them as he might have done, his army being then encamped in the plains of St. Dennis, offered their leader Regnier, seven thousand pounds weight of silver, if he would immediately retire from the kingdom and swear never to

* Kohlrausch. Pictorial France. Michelet. Bonnechose.

return. The money was of course accepted, and the oath taken without scruple, and Regnier returned to the north, publishing an account of the weakness and great riches of the Franks. In consequence of this where one had formerly volunteered on these expeditions, hundreds now offered themselves, and France was soon overrun with them. In 847, they captured and burned Bordeaux.*

After having, for the last ten years, associated his son Louis II. with him in the empire, Lothaire died in a cloister, in 855, leaving Provence to his son Charles, and to Lothaire II. Lorraine. Lothaire having separated himself from his wife, he was ordered by Pope Adrian II. to take her back. This he refused to do, and the infuriated pope denounced the vengeance of Heaven on him if he would not quickly amend his life. He died in the following week; and this being thought by the people to be a judgment of Heaven, Louis of Bavaria, and Charles the Bald, profited by it, and divided the empire between them.†

In 846, a Saracen fleet arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, from the coast of Africa. They plundered the temples of St. Peter and St. Paul, stripping them of their costly ornaments, and then advanced by the Appian Way towards Rome, pillaging Fondi and laying siege to Gaeta. The people of Rome were filled with consternation. They sent to solicit aid of the emperor, but his troops were defeated by a detachment of the Saracens. To add to their dismay, their spiritual and temporal leader, the pope, died in this emergency. The dangers to which the city was exposed, however, had the good effect of preventing the intriguing and the numberless forms usual on the election of a pontiff, and, in their haste, they unanimously chose Pope Leo IV., a man born a Roman, with the old Roman courage glowing in his breast. His first care was to consecrate and purify the church. He then began to repair the old walls; he rebuilt fifteen towers, and caused a chain to be drawn across the Tiber, to prevent the ships of the infidels from approaching the city. In the midst of these preparations, the people were rejoiced to hear that their enemies, having raised the siege of Gaeta, had suddenly embarked, and a storm arising, many of their vessels were destroyed.

In 849, however, they again returned to the Tiber, this time assisted by their African neighbours, the Moors. Leo, in the meantime, had formed an alliance for mutual protection with the maritime states of Gaeta, Naples, and Amalfi; and the combined fleet of these three powers, under the command of Cæsarius, a young man of Naples, who had already distinguished himself against the Saracens, appeared in the time of danger in the port of Ostia. The pope blessed his defenders, and they drew up their galleys near the coast to await the attack of the infidels. The Moslems advanced with intrepidity against the Christian fleet, and a furious battle commenced. The victory

* Pictorial France.

† Bonnechose.

seemed to incline to the side of the Christians, and, no doubt, in less than another hour of hard fighting, they would have completely and gloriously defeated their opponents. This, however, was prevented by the sudden rising of a tempest, which scattered the Moslem fleet, and dashed their galleys to pieces on the rocks of a hostile shore. The Christian fleet sought and found shelter in a friendly port.

Leo then gave his whole attention to the defence and ornament of the Roman state. He renewed and embellished the churches; rebuilt the walls of Horta and Ameria; founded the city of Leopolis for the wandering inhabitants of Centumcellæ; planted a colony of Corsicans in Porta, at the mouth of the Tiber; and, in 852, he built and embellished the Vatican, giving it the name of the *Leonine City*.*

While the Saracenic pirates were thus harassing Italy and France, England was again infested by those of Scandinavia. On the death of Egbert, in 836, he was succeeded in his kingdom of Wessex by his son *Ethelwulf*. The pirates, no longer restrained by the presence of Egbert, ravaged all the southern coast of Wessex and Kent; they audaciously sailed up the Thames and the Medway; and stormed and pillaged London, Rochester, and Canterbury. The idea of co-operation against a common enemy seems now, for the first time, to have entered the imagination of the Saxon princes. A league was formed between the Kings of Mercia and Wessex in 851. The King of Mercia was soon after defeated and slain; but Ethelwulf gained a complete victory over the Danes at Okeley, in Surry. Soon after Athelstane, King of Kent, defeated the pirates and captured nine of their ships; and Ceorn, with the men of Devon, defeated them at Wenbury. These severe checks induced the marauders to leave England quiet for a short time, while they turned their attention, as we have seen, towards France. Ethelwulf, in 853, visited Rome with his youngest son, Alfred, who was anointed and consecrated as king by the pope. On his return, he was compelled to divide his kingdom with his son Ethelbald; but dying soon after, that prince succeeded to the whole kingdom. (A. D. 857.)

Ethelbald reigned only two years, which seem to have been passed in peace and prosperity. He was succeeded, in the beginning of the year 860, by his brother *Ethelbert*, who had a short reign, troubled beyond measure by the Danes, who again made inroads in almost every part of the island. He had the mortification to see them burn his capital of Winchester, and permanently establish themselves in the Isle of Thanet.

Ethelbert dying in 866 or 867, was succeeded by his brother *Ethelred*, who, it is said, in the course of one year fought nine pitched battles against the Danes. The King of Mercia withdrew from the league which had been formed in the time of Ethelwulf, and left the men of Wessex to maintain a

* Gibbon.

doubtful struggle, sometimes gaining and at others losing the victory. In many of these conflicts the youthful Alfred fought by the side of his brother, and at Aston, he sustained the brunt of the whole Danish force and mainly contributed to that splendid victory, while Ethelred would not permit his division of the army to move till mass was over. The victory of Aston was followed by the defeats of Basing and Mereton; and soon afterward Ethelred died, and Alfred, the only surviving son of Ethelwulf, came to the throne. (A. D. 871.)

Soon after *Alfred's* accession, his army was forced into a general engagement by a superior body of Danes at Wilton. After fighting with undaunted courage through a great part of the day, the Danes fled, but seeing the small numbers of their pursuers, they rallied and gained the field. Such was their loss, however, that they were glad to conclude a peace with Alfred, who was not present at the battle of Wilton, and evacuate his kingdom of Wessex. The invading army withdrew towards Mercia. They completely conquered that kingdom, and wintered in London. In 875, they conquered Northumbria and East Anglia, and from that time the contest lay between the Danes and Alfred's men of Wessex. In 876, Alfred constructed a small fleet, with which the enemy were kept at bay on the sea; but their success on land continued. They surprised the castle of Wareham, in Wessex, and then concerted a combined attack on Alfred's forces in Devonshire. For this purpose, a Danish fleet sailed from the Thames; but the infant Saxon navy stood ready to oppose it. A storm caused the wreck of at least half the Danish vessels, and when the others arrived tardily and in a shattered condition, they were met by the Saxon fleet at the mouth of the Exe, and completely destroyed, after a gallant action. Alfred had, in the mean time, come up with his land forces and invested Exeter, and Guthrun the Dane, who held that town, on hearing of the destruction of the fleet, capitulated and retired towards Mercia. He, however, took up his head-quarters at the city of Gloucester, and in January 878, succeeded in surprising Alfred in Chippenham, while celebrating the feast of the Epiphany. It was with difficulty that the king, with a few followers, escaped. Several unfortunate battles followed in rapid succession, which ended in the entire defeat of Alfred and the conquest by the Danes of the whole of Wessex. Alfred, with a few faithful adherents, sought safety in Athelney, a place almost insulated by rivers and bogs, which they soon rendered impregnable. From that place they made predatory excursions on the Danes, and supported themselves by hunting and fishing. Somerset still remained faithful to the king; and Hubba, a great Danish chieftain, being slain in Devonshire, and the standard of the raven captured, the people were encouraged and soon began to flock to Alfred's camp. Finding himself strong enough to extend his operations, Alfred, by a stratagem, made himself master of their plans and councils, and then despatching messengers in all directions, ordered his subjects to repair to his standard at Egbert's stone.



STANDARD OF THE RAVEN.

The summons was gladly obeyed, and in the battle which ensued at Ethandane, (878,) the Danes were taken by surprise, and thoroughly defeated. Guthrun retired to a fortified place, where, after a siege of fourteen days, he was obliged to surrender, agreeing to evacuate Wessex and embrace Christianity. The Saxons, on their part, agreed to divide the land with the Danes. Guthrun was baptized and received the name of Athelstane. He kept his

contract; but other Danes, crossing from the continent, who were not bound by the treaty, continually made flying depredations on the territories of the Saxons.*

The Danes and Normans, finding Alfred prepared to receive and repel them, turned their arms towards France and Germany, where the chiefs and people were embroiled among themselves. They established a permanent camp at the mouth of the Loire, whence they scoured the country in every direction. In 852, two hosts, at the same time ascended the Seine and the Loire and plundered and burnt Nantes, Angers, Tours, and Mons. The nobles finding but little safety in the towns and open country, now began to build castles for themselves, and the people to cluster around them for protection from the spoiler. In 855, Biorn, one of the most celebrated sea-kings, made a descent upon the coast of Normandy, but was attacked by Charles the Bald, and driven in confusion back to his vessels. In 856 and 857, they plundered Orleans and Chartres. Charles, now driven to desperation, sought to bribe one body of Normans to make war against another. They took the bribe; but instead of opposing, they made a league with them, and both parties went together to the sack of Meaux. This proceeding aroused the whole nation; they fell upon the Normans on their return from Meaux with all the fury of personal hate and revenge, and defeating them, compelled them to leave the country. They soon returned again, and compelled the weak king Charles to sign the most ignominious treaty ever entered into by any nation on the earth. He agreed to give to the victors as the price of peace, not only the amount of four thousand pounds weight of silver, but to restore to them all such French captives as should have escaped from bondage, or to redeem them at such a price as their masters should fix; and to pay, in addition, a certain sum for

* Pictorial England.



BATTLE OF SAUCOURT.

every Norman whom the French should have slain in battle during the recent encounters. Had it not been for one man, Count Robert the Strong, Governor of Anjou, France would have been reduced to a Norman province. He kept up the contest, carrying on a kind of partisan warfare, until he was killed in an engagement with them about the year 866.

When the emperor Lothaire died, in 855, the crown of Italy passed to Louis, his eldest son. Lothaire left Provence to his third son Charles, whom Charles the Bald immediately began to take means to dispossess. He did not succeed, however, until after the death of Louis, when Lothaire of Lorraine, his successor, was excommunicated by the pope, and his dominions added to the French crown.

On the death of Louis II. his nephew, without issue, in 875, Charles prevailed upon the pope John VIII. to place on his head the imperial crown as well as that of Lombardy. His brother, Louis of Germany, who being the elder had a better title to the imperial dignity, enfeebled by age and sickness, made no attempt to recover it. He died, however, in 876, having divided his kingdom among his three sons, Louis of Saxony, Carloman of Bavaria, and Charles, afterwards called *le Gros*, (the Fat). Charles the Bald, now growing proud of his many titles, determined to add that of King of Germany to the others. He invaded the territory of his nephews; but at his encounter with them on the plains of Andernach, he was completely defeated, he flying from the field before the battle had well begun.

From that time until his death, the emperor was continually harassed. On the side of the Rhine, he was menaced by his nephew, Louis of Saxony; in France, Rollo, the most daring of the Normans, ravaged the country along the banks of the Seine; in Italy he was harassed by Carloman, who advancing with an army, the emperor fled, but was attacked by a fever in the hut of a peasant at the foot of Mount Cenis; where, after lingering for eleven days, he died on the 6th of October, 877.

Charles the Bald left only one son, *Louis II. le Begue*, (the Stammerer). France, only, fell to his lot; Louis the Saxon, the eldest son of Louis the German, taking the title of Emperor and King of Italy.

Louis II. no sooner ascended the throne, than the dukes of Aquitaine, Provence, and Anjou, revolted and aimed at forming distinct sovereign states. The king, who is represented as weak-minded, bewildered with the many cares which pressed upon him, seems to have lost all hope; and while marching against his rebellious subjects, was attacked with a mortal sickness, of which he died, in 879, after a reign of only eighteen months.

He was succeeded by his two sons, Louis III. and Carloman, who were raised to the throne, in conjunction, by the rebellious dukes. The Normans again troubling France, Louis marched against them at the head of a well-appointed army, met them at Saucourt, and defeated them, killing, it is said, nine thousand Normans. The victors were, however, chased off the field by

the Normans during the same night. The invaders, however, not liking the reception Louis had given them, retired to Germany where they took and plundered Aix-la-Chapelle. Louis III. dying, in 882, Carloman was left sole sovereign of France; and for the two years during which he reigned was constantly occupied in repelling the assaults of the Normans who had already returned. In 884, he was accidentally killed while engaged in a hunting party near Corbie.

Charles le Gros, King of Germany, and Emperor of the West, the only surviving son of Louis the German, now succeeded to the vacant throne of France, and thus again, for an instant, restored the Empire of Charlemagne to its ancient limits.*

We now return to the affairs of the Eastern Empire. *Basil I.* the Macedonian, who usurped the throne of Constantinople, after murdering his master, Michael III., governed the empire with prudence, wisdom, and moderation. He renewed the old Roman spirit of enterprise, held the Saracens in check, suppressed a dangerous revolt of the Manichæans, replenished the imperial treasury, improved and beautified his kingdom by the erection of many splendid churches and palaces, and made a complete revision of the laws of Justinian, suiting them to the wants and necessities of his times. He concluded an alliance with Louis of France, the great-grandson of Charlemagne, and in conjunction with him, laid siege to the Saracen fortress of Bari, which after an able defence of four years submitted to the arms of Louis, who commanded in person (A. D. 871). The Greeks profited from the reduction of Bari, which city in their possession soon rose to dignity and wealth. Soon after they extended their sway over Apulia and Calabria, and the dukes of Amalfi and Naples rejoiced in the near neighbourhood of their rightful sovereigns. The glorious reign of Basil I. was accidentally closed in 886. Hunting one day in the forest, he encountered a furious stag. The animal's horns became entangled in the emperor's belt and he was lifted from his horse. He was saved from immediate destruction by the presence of mind and courage of a servant, who cut his belt and killed the stag; but the emperor being injured, it is supposed by the fall, a fever followed, which soon put a period to his existence.

His son, *Leo VI. the Philosopher*, succeeded him, and was distinguished only for his effeminacy and his four marriages. By his last wife, *Zoe*, he became a father; and dying soon after, (911,) he left the empire to his son, Constantine VII. During the minority of the young prince, the sceptre was swayed in his name, first by his uncle Alexander, and afterwards by his mother *Zoe*, and a council of seven regents. These persons, however, all pursued their own interest, gratifying their passions without caring for the empire or the people entrusted to their government. Encouraged by the people, *Romanus Lecapenus*, in 919, usurped the regency, and is said to have

* Pictorial France. Bonnechose.

aspired to the imperial power and title. His sons conspired against him and the emperor. Their plot was successful so far as it related to their father, but it was discovered by Constantine, who seized, degraded, and transported the conspirators to the same place in which they had confined their father. For fifteen years, during which he then filled the throne, Constantine gave himself up to intemperance and sloth; neglecting even to instruct his son Romanus in the theory of government. His empress, Helena, may be said to have governed the eastern world, in his name, until his death, which took place in 959.

His son and successor, Romanus II., was a weak prince, also governed by his wife Theophano. He spent the whole of his time in the circus, at the table, the tennis court, and the chase; and in the fourth year of his inactive reign was poisoned by his wife. (A. D. 963.)*



SIEGE OF PARIS.

During the reign of Charles le Gros, the Normans again landed in France, and, calculating on the cowardice of the king, advanced to the very gates of Paris. Here, however, they were opposed by Eudes, Count of Paris, and his

* Gibbon.

brother Robert. They laid siege to the city in 885. The siege was long and terrible. It was more than twelve months before Charles advanced to the aid of the city; and then, having arrived on the plain of St. Dennis, instead of offering battle to the enemy, he offered them seven thousand pounds weight of silver if they would raise the siege of Paris and retire to Burgundy, which, he said, would afford them a much richer harvest. The Normans agreed to his proposal, but Eudes refused to let them pass up the Seine through Paris. They, however, drew their vessels ashore below the city, launched them again at a safe distance above, and pursued their course, without further obstruction. A general diet was soon after convoked at Tribur, and for this act of imbecillity and cowardice, Charles was deposed, and his kingdom divided among eight of his nobles. He died unlamented a few weeks after his deposition (A.D. 887). Germany was already separated from the empire. Italy now became a distinct kingdom; and the country lying between the Alps, the Jura, and the sources of the Rhine, was formed into a new kingdom, by Rodolph Welf or Guelf, under the title of Upper or Transjuran Burgundy; Boson, the brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, formed the country between the Jura, the Mediterranean, and the Rhone, into a kingdom, and took the title of King of Provence or Cisjuran Burgundy. Aquitaine, another of these kingdoms, extended from the Loire to the Pyrenees; between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Saone, Reinier, Count of Hainault, formed the Duchy of Upper Lorraine; and, finally, between the Loire and the Meuse lay enclosed the territory which bore the name of France. The historical existence of the French nation dates from this last dismemberment of the empire. Eudes, Count of Paris, and son of Robert the Strong, was elected King of France, to the exclusion of Charles, surnamed the Simple, the son of Louis the Stammerer.

The youthful Charles, thus dispossessed of his rights, applied to Arnulph, King of Germany, for aid, and commenced the struggle, which terminated in the final rejection of the Carlovingian race. When Eudes died, in 898, Charles IV. the Simple, was acknowledged King of France. During his reign, Rollo, the celebrated Norman chief again pillaged the most fertile parts of the kingdom, and finally marched to Paris, and demanded the hand of the daughter of the king in marriage, and that Charles should confer on him the rank of a great feudatory, and give him and his followers the possession of a province of France. The feeble monarch dared not reject these terms, and merely stipulating that the Norman should embrace the Christian faith, and do fealty, according to the ancient Frankish usage, he gave him formal possession of the rebellious kingdom of Brittany, which thenceforth became the Duchy of Normandy, and Rollo was baptized under the name of Robert, and became nominally a liegeman of France. (A.D. 912.) An incident took place at the investiture of Rollo, which showed plainly the manner in which he intended to consider his suzerain. Rollo took both hands of the king in his own and swore obedience to him. So far things went on very well; but, when told by



TREATY BETWEEN CHARLES VI. AND ROLLO.

the officiating prelates to stoop and kiss the foot of the king, the stern warrior indignantly refused, with an oath. He was at last prevailed upon to order one of his soldiers to perform the ceremony as his proxy; but the veteran, instead of stooping, as he was directed, raised the foot of the king to his mouth in such a rude manner as to throw him to the ground. The French nobles, it is said, witnessed this scene with silent sorrow, while bursts of loud laughter, pealed from the Norman and his followers. Rollo divided his large territory into fiefs, and under the discipline of his severe laws, his followers became the fathers of a great people, who afterwards constituted the most powerful bulwark of France against German invasion. The close of the reign of Charles the Simple was disturbed by numerous rebellions. For upwards of sixty years a continual contest for the mastery was kept up between the houses of Charlemagne and Eudes.

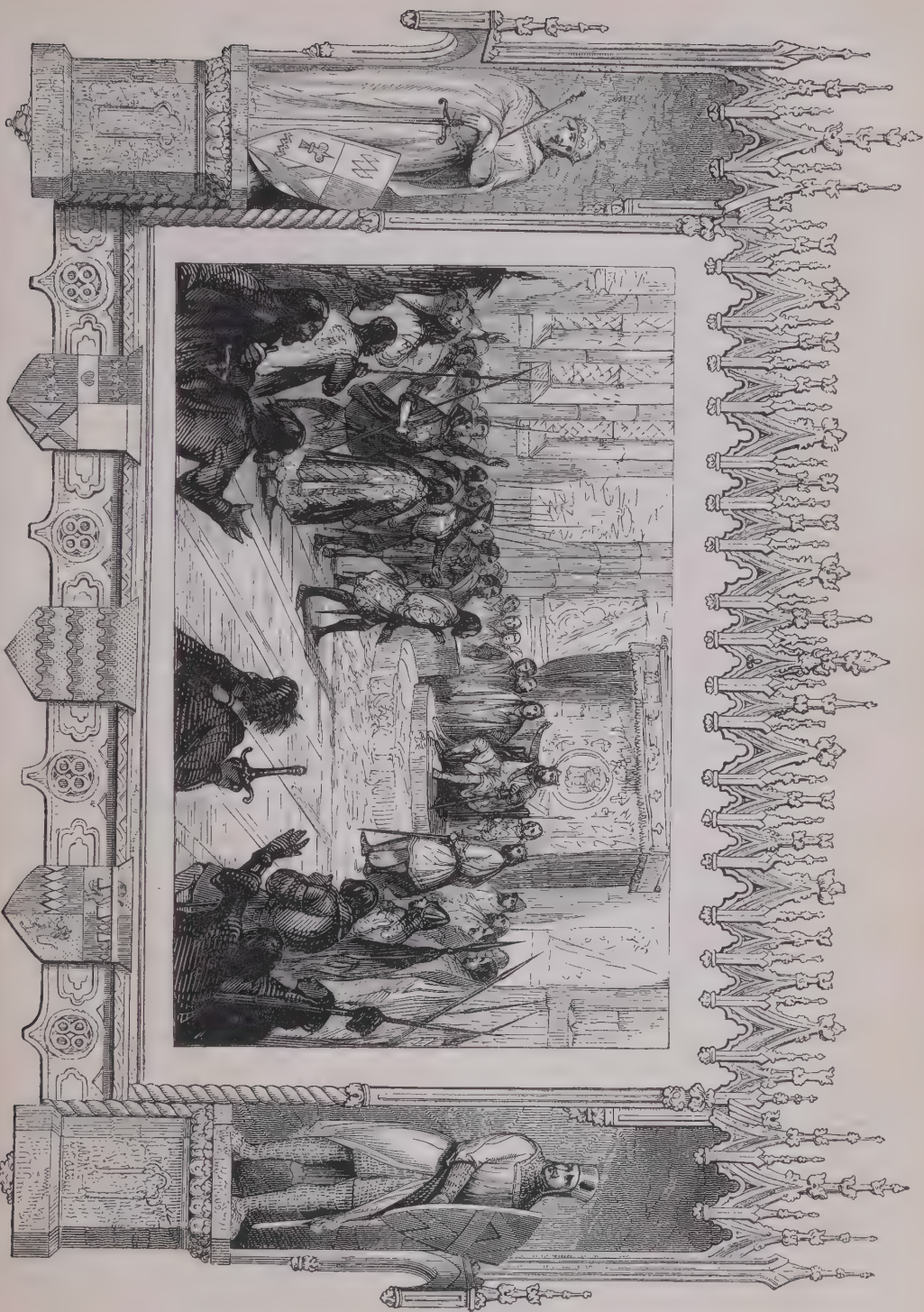
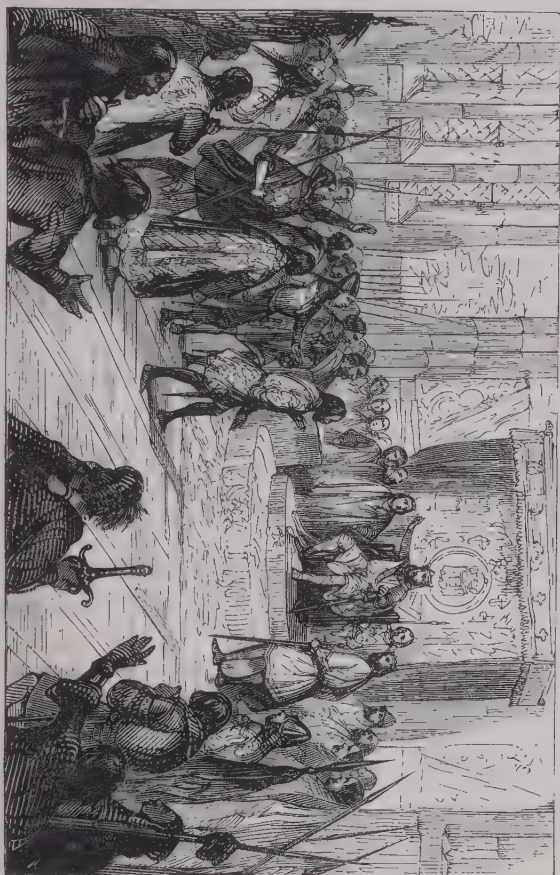
Robert, duke of France, the brother of Eudes, and his son, Hugh the Great, made fierce war against Charles, and was elected king in 920. Charles

fled to Lorraine, whither he was pursued by Robert. A battle ensued on the plain of St. Medard, in which Charles was aided by the Normans. Seeing that the battle was strongly contested, king Robert siezed his banner and spurring into the midst of the fight, dashed at Fulbert, his rival's standard-bearer. He, warned by Charles, avoided the blow aimed at him, and dealt his assailant one in return, which laid king Robert headless at his feet. The victory, however, remained with Hugh the Great, the son of Robert; and Charles fled to Germany.

Hugh, not caring for the regal title caused his brother-in-law, Raoul, or Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy, to be proclaimed King of the French (A. D. 923.) Charles, soon after, lured by faithless promises, fell into the hands of Herbert, Count of Vermandois, by whom he was conducted a prisoner to Château Thierry, and shortly afterwards to the tower of Péronne, where he died in 929. His queen, Elgiva, escaped with her son Louis to the court of her brother Athelstane, of England. Raoul, who possessed only the name of king, reigned seven years after the death of Charles, and then died without issue, leaving the kingdom of France again to the disposal of Hugh, Duke of France.

He, again rejecting it for himself, the next year, 936, conferred it upon Louis IV., the son of Charles the Simple, who was surnamed *d'Outremer*, in consequence of his residence beyond the sea. Louis returned to France, accepted the crown, and reigned at first under the guidance and protection of Hugh the Great. Laon, of all the regal possessions, alone remained to the king of France; and even this was solicited by Hugh. The king refused his request, and he was soon besieged by his too powerful vassal. He was only saved from deposition and disgrace by the timely succour of Otho the Great, who, in 936, had succeeded to the throne of Germany. When Otho retired, Louis was again at the mercy of Hugh. But the Duke of Normandy dying in 943, and leaving his possessions in the hands of a boy, Louis proposed to Hugh to unite against the Normans, depose the young Duke Richard, and divide Normandy between them. A battle was fought in 945, in which the French were completely defeated. Louis was taken prisoner and confined in Rouen with sixteen of his counts. He was ransomed by Hugh; who, though he wished to humble Louis, was necessarily inimical to Norman ascendancy. Hugh repaid himself by taking possession of Laon. The king again appealed to the emperor Otho, who marched to his assistance, but failed in making any impression on the redoubtable Hugh. He, after the retirement of Otho, and in his own time, condescended to enter into a treaty with his sovereign, allowing him the name of king and the possession of Laon, but retaining all substantial power in his own hands. Louis died in consequence of a fall from his horse, at Rheims, in 954.

Louis d'Outremer was succeeded by Lothaire and Louis; who are only remarkable as the last representatives of the house of Charlemagne. The monk Gerbert, whose brows were afterwards encircled by the tiara, as Pope Sylvester II., placed himself at the head of the French clergy to direct the



movement which was to place the throne in the possession of the Capets. Speaking of Lothaire, he says: "He is only king by title; Hugh bears not the title, but he is king in fact and by his works:" and of Louis V.; "He does nothing; is a charge to his friends; gives no uneasiness to his enemies, while his ruin is efficiently accomplished in secret." Hugh Capet had inherited all the power of Hugh the Great, with a far larger share of ambition. He desired to add to the power the title of a king; and though he permitted the reign of the princes whom Hugh the Great had supported, he determined to deprive their descendants of the succession. This important revolution was finally accomplished; the dynasty of the Carolingians yielded the throne to that of the Capetians; and the change was made almost without opposition. Lothaire died in 986, and Louis V., surnamed *Le Faineant*, reigned but one year. He died childless; but there were heirs to the crown. Charles, Duke of Bas-Lorraine, second son of Louis d'Outremer, and brother to Lothaire, had the legitimate right; but it was rendered of no avail by Capet, who assembled his supporters, the principal nobles of the duchy of France, at Noyon; and at the end of May, 987, was elected, or rather chosen, and acknowledged King of France. We know not the character of this assembly; but it was probably governed by no precise rules. It was a spontaneous movement, as it were, an acclamation.*

The archbishop of Rheims consecrated the new sovereign, and ratified, in the name of the Church, the choice of the French noblemen. Hugh Capet never forgot the obligations which he owed to the clergy. Raised to the throne by their support and protection, he never ceased to seek their approbation; in his humility he refused to wear the crown, except on solemn occasions, and exercised the sovereignty with which he had been invested with the most prudent reserve. Though other chiefs possessed domains equal in extent to those of Hugh, there appears to have been no opposition to his election. The services of his father and grandfather had rendered him popular; and the feudal lords did not object to a king of recent origin whose accession to the throne did not increase his power. They witnessed, without a feeling of compassion, the overthrow of a race of kings from whom they had torn province after province of the kingdom, but whose concessions were, after all, revocable, and might be recovered, should an able prince succeed to the throne. The assembly of Noyon did not extend the real power of Hugh Capet; it left him still Duke of France, but gave him a more comprehensive title, by means of which the Capetians were destined to consolidate the sovereign power.

Hugh was protected by the pride of those who had acknowledged him.

* Cette élection n'eut point lieu avec des formes régulières; on ne s'avisa ni de recueillir, ni de compter les rois des seigneurs, ce fut un coup d'entraînement, et Hugues Capet devint roi des Français parceque sa popularité était immense."—M. Augustin Thierry—Lettres sur l'Histoire de France.

The title which they had accorded him they considered unimportant; they pretended to a complete equality of rank, and even of power with the successors of the Carlovingians. Arnold of Flanders, and Herbert of Vermandois, were constrained by force of arms to recognise his new dignity; Richard of Normandy did him homage, but required the same, in turn, from him; and the Duke of Bretagne remained an entire stranger to the claims of the Capetian sovereignty. To secure the succession of his eldest son, Capet convoked the French nobles at Orleans, and caused Robert to be acknowledged his successor in advance. For two centuries the kings followed this example; and by this policy at length rendered the French crown hereditary.

In the south they scarcely troubled themselves about him who had assumed the kingly title; so small was his influence over the great fiefs situated south of the Loire. They knew not his name; and after his election, the southern lords always inscribed at the head of their decrees; "God reigning, expecting a king." Hugh Capet wished to try his power; but he hardly succeeded in causing it to be acknowledged. Adalbert, Count of Perigord, joined with the Count of Anjou in besieging Tours, which belonged to Eudes, Count of Blois. Eudes sought help from Hugh Capet, who commanded Adalbert to raise the siege. The warlike noble despised the summons. Hugh sent and asked him, "Who made thee duke?"—"Who made thee king?" was the fierce response.

The accession of the Capetian dynasty is one of the most important events in history. By it, royalty in France was rendered definitely national. It long remained weak, narrow in extent, dependant on the feudal lords, who remained masters of the soil; but patience, time, great ability, and opportune modesty, united to courage and intelligence, prepared for it great destinies, and ended by assuming for it an incontestible superiority. It is regarded, by Thierry, as the end of the reign of the Franks, and the substitution of a national royalty for a government founded by conquest. From that time the history of France becomes simple: we constantly follow and recognise the same people, notwithstanding the changes which come over their manners and civilization.* A singular presentiment of this long succession of kings seems to have seized the popular mind at the accession of the third race of kings. Tradition relates, that in 981, St. Valery, whose relics had just been removed by Hugh Capet, then Count of Paris, appeared in a dream to the future king, and said to him: "For what thou hast done, thou and thy children shall be kings to the seventh generation; that is, for ever." These words were prophetic: for 900 years the Capetians, constantly increasing in the midst of disasters, revolutions, attacks internal and external, occupied the throne without interruption, and gave kings to most of the nations of Europe.†

In the east, we have already seen an army of Romans defeated by the

* *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France.*

† *Faits Mémorables de l'Histoire de France.*

savage Bulgarians; but this people, soon after that event, became somewhat civilized from their intercourse with the Greeks, and the introduction of Christianity, and in 888 we find one of their royal princes, Simeon, studying, at Constantinople, the rhetoric of Demosthenes, and the logic of Aristotle. He, however, preferred the toils and dangers of a warrior's life to the tranquil pursuits of a monk; and the eastern emperors wishing to bring his kingdom under tribute, he declared war against them. The Greeks called in the aid of the Turks, and Simeon lost the first battle. He soon after, however, overthrew and dispersed the Servians; defeated the Greeks on the banks of the Achelous; laid siege to Constantinople; and dictated terms of peace to the emperor. The treaty was sealed by a domestic alliance: the Bulgarians were honoured at court above all other foreigners, and their princes received the title of *Basileus*, or king. On the death of Simeon, however, in 950, his successors were divided; and war broke out among themselves. The Greeks took advantage of their condition, and about the year 971 they were completely conquered by Basil II., who cruelly deprived fifteen thousand captives of their sight, leaving only to one of each hundred a single eye, that he might conduct his hundred to the presence of their king; who, it is said, died of grief and horror at the sight.*

While some of the powerful nations of the earth were thus falling to ruins, England, under the reign of the great Alfred, was beginning to gather strength, and prepare for her future career of power and glory. Protected by his powerful name, they enjoyed, for upwards of six years, a season of peace and prosperity. At the end of that time, however, impelled by famine, the Danes, under their great leader, Hasting, again invaded England with a fleet of three hundred and thirty ships (893). They made two very strong camps; one of them at Appledore, and the other at Milton. Guthrun the Faithful having been dead for three years, his followers, the settlers of the Danelagh, violated their oaths to Alfred, and, taking up arms against him, joined their marauding brethren. But the valour and vigilance of the great king was successfully exerted for the defence of his country; the victories of Exeter, Benfleet, Buffington, and many other places, attest the bravery and generosity of the Saxon monarch; and the pirate Hasting, utterly dispirited and driven into the narrow walls of Quatbridge, disbanded his army, giving them permission to return with him to France, or to take any course that they pleased (897). Some settled in the Danelagh; others sailed for the Scheldt, and the mouth of the Rhine; while a few departed with Hasting for the continent, and settled in Normandy.

Alfred now paid great attention to the increase and enlargement of his small navy; to the encouragement of letters; the revival of learning, and the improvement of the laws of his kingdom. The Danes of Northumbria fitted

* Gibbon.



ARMS, DRESS AND SHIP OF THE SAXONS.

out some vessels, and sailed on a piratical cruise along the coast. They were encountered by the English ships; captured, condemned, and ordered to be hanged as rebels and pirates by Alfred. This king, well deserving the name of Great, died at Oxford, on the 25th of October, 900, greatly beloved and lamented by his subjects. "His merit," says an able historian,* "both in public and private life, may be set in opposition to that of any sovereign or citizen of ancient and modern times." In the language of Hume, "He seems to be the complete model of that perfect character, which, under the denomination of a sage, or truly wise man, philosophers have been so fond of delineating, without the hopes of ever seeing it realized."

From the death of Alfred until the reign of Canute, the history of England offers few points worthy of the attention of the general reader. Civilization, science, and the arts, rather declined than advanced: the great ideas of Alfred appear to have perished with himself, and the emulator of Charlemagne proved as unsuccessful as his prototype. England had now nothing to dread

* Russell.

from the Norman Scandinavians; but the Danes, who had become naturalized on the English soil, frequently disturbed the country by taking up arms in favour of different pretenders and caused great irregularity in the royal succession. Public order was also troubled by the ambition of the monks, who, ingratiating themselves in public affairs, were on the point of abolishing altogether the secular clergy of the kingdom. The reigns of Edward the Elder, the son of Alfred, and of his successors, Athelstan, 925, Edmund, 941, and Edred, 946, were tumultuous and anarchical. Edward was remarkable for his large share of the military talents which distinguished his father; Athelstan inherited the wisdom and liberality of the great Alfred. His able and active reign is rendered memorable by the law for the encouragement of commerce, that a merchant who had made two voyages on his own account, to distant lands, should be admitted to the rank of a lesser thane or gentleman.

Edmund's reign was short, and his death violent. A robber, named Leof, whom he had sentenced to banishment, impudently entered the banqueting-hall, and seated himself at the table where the king was dining. He ordered him to be expelled from the room; but, observing that the robber was preparing to resist, the king sprung up and caught him by the hair. A scuffle ensued, in the course of which Leof stabbed the king with a dagger which he carried under his cloak. The villain was cut to pieces by the servants of the household. Edmund died of his wound, and was buried in Glastonbury Abbey (946).

Edred, who succeeded his brother Edmund at the age of twenty-two (A. D. 946), was afflicted with severe bodily infirmity. According to some writers, his mind was as feeble as his body; and the vigour that marked his reign is ascribed to the energy of Dunstan, the Abbot of Glastonbury, who now began to figure as a statesman, and of Torketul, another churchman, who was chancellor of the kingdom. Other writers, however, affirm that Edred was resolute and vigorous in mind, notwithstanding his bodily weakness. During his reign, the Danes in England, humbled and apparently crushed, were compelled to pay a heavy pecuniary fine, and Northumbria was incorporated with the rest of the kingdom. Edred died childless, and was succeeded by his nephew, Edwy, (A. D. 955), whose reign was signalized by his quarrel with Dunstan. Edwy married Elgiva, who was his second or third cousin, and consequently related to him in a degree within which the canonical laws forbid such unions. The extremities to which Dunstan proceeded were probably occasioned less by this circumstance than by the king's opposition to the celibacy of the clergy, which the abbot was earnest in advocating. On the day of his coronation, Edwy left the hall where the nobles were drinking to excess, for the company of his wife; his absence being noticed, Dunstan rushed into the king's apartment, addressed the most brutal language to the queen and her mother, dragged the young king from the side of his wife, and thrust him back into the banqueting-room by main force.*

* Pictorial History of England.

Such a proceeding could not fail to be followed by severe retaliation, and Dunstan was soon after called upon to render an account of the moneys with which he had been entrusted during the preceding reign. On his refusal, the king confiscated his property, took his court places from him, and banished him from the kingdom. This aroused the ire and party spirit of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, who immediately pronounced a divorce between Edwy and Elgiva, and recalled Dunstan. Some of the archbishop's armed retainers then entered the residence of the king, tore thence the queen, branded her in the face with a red-hot iron, to destroy her beauty, and then carried her to Ireland. There her wounds were soon healed; the scars were obliterated; and, as radiant in her beauty as ever, she escaped to England, and rejoined her husband. On the road, however, she was taken prisoner by a party of Odo's retainers, who cut the sinews of her limbs, and barbarously mangled her body, so that she expired a few days after, in great pain.

The infamous Odo, in the meantime, had incited the king's own brother, to whose care Mercia had been intrusted, to open rebellion, while he aroused the Danes of Northumbria, his kinsmen.* Edwy, however, died in 958, the year after the death of his wife. Some say that he died of a broken heart; others assert that he was assassinated by his enemies.

Edgar, his brother, succeeded him, and affected to be governed, in all his actions, by the monks; to whom, it may be said, he owed the throne. He obtained his second wife, the beautiful, but wicked Elfrida, by the murder of her husband, his former favourite. Little, worthy of notice, is related of this monarch. His kingdom was at peace, and he increased his navy to 360 sail. He died in A. D. 975, and was succeeded by Edward, the son of his first wife.

Edward, surnamed the Martyr, was made king by the monks. He, or rather, the monks, reigned in peace for four years. As he was hunting one day, near Corfe Castle, where Elfrida his mother-in-law resided, he quitted his company and attendants to visit his half-brother. Elfrida came out to the gate to meet him; and he desired a drink to be brought to him, as he was thirsty. She gave him a cup of wine; but, as he was carrying it to his lips, one of her attendants stabbed him in the back. The wounded king put spurs to his horse, but soon fainting from loss of blood, he fell out of the saddle, and was dragged, by one foot in the stirrup, through the woods and rugged ways, until he was dead. His corpse was found and burned, and the ashes interred at Wareham, without any pomp or regal ceremony.

Ethelred II., surnamed the Unready, the son of the murderess, succeeded his half-brother on the throne (979). In 981, the Danes, under Sweyn, made their appearance on the British coast, and Ethelred, who seems to have been too much occupied with quarrels with his bishops, to pay any attention to the

* The archbishop was a Dane.

invasion, permitted them to plunder, to land, and to mingle with his subjects. He, in the meantime, married Emma, the daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy. The Danes had now, for upwards of fifteen years, been absolute masters in the land, insulting the women, and ordering the Saxon men to do the work of beasts. Ethelred, weak and irresolute, could think of no way of ridding his country of the enemy, but by a general massacre. He accordingly made the necessary preparations, and carried on the plot so secretly, that it fully succeeded; and all the Danes in England were destroyed in one day (Nov. 13th, 1002).

This only brought Sweyn back from Denmark, with a host far outnumbering any that had hitherto appeared on the coast of England. They landed towards the end of the year 1002, and kept up an incessant warfare until January, 1013, when Ethelred fled to Normandy, and *Sweyn* was acknowledged king of all England. He died suddenly, about six weeks afterwards, and Ethelred was recalled by the Saxon nobles, who pledged themselves to his defence and support, stipulating, however, for certain reforms in the government. He was immediately opposed by Canute, the son of Sweyn, and was fast losing ground, when he died of a disease, about the year 1016.

His successor, Edmund Ironside, carried on the contest with Canute with great obstinacy and valour. Battle followed battle, and the Saxon king worked wonders; but as the Danes were gaining the advantage, he proposed to Canute to settle the dispute by single combat; but the Danish king, who was lightly framed, declined this proposition, and, in his turn, proposed to divide the kingdom. This was gladly accepted; the Saxons obtained all south of the Thames, while the Danes took the north. Edmund was murdered about a month after this treaty; some say by order of Canute; while others assert that it was done by his own two chamberlains. His death took place at Oxford; and Canute took peaceable possession of the kingdom (1017).

Canute governed his subjects, for nineteen years, with moderation and justice; when, dying, he left the throne to his second son, Harold. To his other sons, Sweyn and Hardicanute, he gave Norway and Denmark.

Harold secured for himself the love of his English subjects; but his brother, Hardicanute, who succeeded him at the end of two years, so alienated their affections by his violent and unjust proceedings, that on his death, in 1041, the people were once more induced to place upon the throne, Edward, surnamed the Confessor, a monarch of the old Saxon line.

Wholly occupied, during his long reign, with visions of superstition, Edward conferred the chief ecclesiastical dignities of the kingdom on foreigners, especially Normans, for whom he had a strong predilection. He carried his love to the Normans so far as to nominate, although he had no right to do so, William, the natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, as his successor. Upon the death of Edward, in 1066, Harold, the son of Godwin, Earl of Kent, was elected king by the English nobles and people. William immediately



LANDING OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

claimed the crown as the heir of Edward the Confessor, and he endeavoured to strengthen his pretensions with an oath, extorted from Harold when shipwrecked on the coast of France, by which he promised never to aspire to the English crown, and to support William in obtaining it. But Harold announced to the ambassadors of the ambitious Norman, his determination to maintain, with his arms and his life, the national liberties with which he had been entrusted. The pope was induced to support the claim of the Norman; he denounced Harold as a perjured usurper; excommunicated him and his adherents, and sent to William a consecrated banner, and a ring, with one of St. Peter's hairs in it. With these tokens of ecclesiastical favour, and sixty thousand followers, William quickly found himself at Pevensey, in Sussex, where a disembarkation was effected. The duke had the misfortune to fall, as he leaped ashore, a circumstance which his superstitious followers might have construed

into an omen of ill, but for his presence of mind. Gathering a handful of earth, he held it up to his attendants, and exclaimed, "I have taken possession of England!" and a soldier running to a neighbouring cottage, plucked some thatch, which he presented to his lord, as giving him seisin of the kingdom. Such was the confidence of William and his followers in their success.

Relying on the justice of his cause, and the bravery of his troops, who had just gained a great victory over a powerful army of Norwegian invaders, Harold hastened to decide the possession of the kingdom. Coming by forced marches from York, he found that the enemy had pitched his camp at Hastings. His brother, Gurth, a brave and politic leader, advised him not to give battle with his inferior forces, but rather to prolong the war to the winter, when the Normans would suffer from its severity, while the English, better sheltered, and incensed at the rapine which must necessarily follow in the train of the invaders, would crowd to his standard, and render him invincible. He also represented the impropriety, if the king was determined to hazard a battle, of exposing the royal person, that no resource might be left for the liberty of the kingdom. Harold, however, elated with prosperity, and fearless of the result, determined "to give battle in person, and convince his subjects that he was worthy of the crown which they had set on his head." He therefore drew near to the Normans, and two or three vaunting messages passed between the rivals. The approach of night prevented the troops from engaging, on the first day; and the appearance of the dawn was impatiently awaited, by the Normans, in prayer and preparations for battle; by the English, in riot and feasting.

Harold had taken possession of a rising ground, and drawn trenches to secure his flanks, that, as the Norman cavalry was far superior to his own, he might act on the defensive. The brave Kentish men claimed the front rank as their due; while the standard was defended by the Londoners; the king himself fighting on foot in the centre, at the head of his infantry. The first attack of the Norman foot, made under cover of the clouds of arrows shot from the bows of their archers, was terrible; but the English lost not an inch of ground; and, after a furious struggle, the Normans began to fall into confusion. The hopes of William were on the brink of ruin; but his good conduct restored the battle. He hastened, at the head of a select band, to the scene of disorder, and the English were, in turn, obliged to give way; but they rallied round the standard of the undaunted Harold, and renewed the fight. The duke then instructed his followers to make a hasty retreat, that they might draw the English from their station. The stratagem succeeded. The English advanced in pursuit, until they reached the plain, when the flying infantry faced about, and attacked them in front; and the Norman cavalry charged their wings. They were thrown into disorder, and retreated again to the hill, where the able Harold rallied them, and they renewed the combat. Again the Normans tried the same stratagem, and with similar success. A



BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

large body of the English always remained firm around the standard of their prince, determined to support him in his purpose of gaining a victory or losing his life. Hitherto the chances of success appeared equal, and the approach of night seemed about to put an end to the combat, without deciding it, when the brave Harold, who had fought continually from dawn till eve, was shot in the brain with an arrow, while at the head of his guards, he preserved his standard from the attacks of the foe. His two gallant brothers, Gurth and Leofrom, were also slain; and, destitute of leaders, and weary of the combat, the English gave way, and fled on all sides, pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans. Fifteen thousand of the Normans fell, and a greater number of the English. The fate of the kingdom depended upon this battle; and the obstinacy with which it was contested, and the valiant feats performed by the leaders, prove it to have been worthy of deciding the possession of such a prize. William, having destroyed his rival, found little difficulty in gaining possession of the whole kingdom. Destitute of a head, the English were unable effectually to rise in defence of their liberties; the pope's bull afforded a reason for submission, and there were not wanting those among the most powerful, who represented the inconveniences of submitting to William as less dreadful than those of the war and bloodshed which resistance would occasion.

William was crowned in London, taking the oath usually administered to the Anglo-Saxon kings, and, at a grand assembly of the nobles, promised to

his new subjects the observance of their national laws. He treated the rightful king, Edgar Atheling, with all the attention due to the nephew of Edward the Confessor, and seemed desirous to have everything rest upon its old foundations; so that the English began to have little concern for his actions; thinking, that as long as the form of government was unchanged, the alteration in the succession of sovereigns was unimportant. Yet he very soon showed that he intended to place all real power in the hands of Normans; and though his civil administration seemed to be that of a legal magistrate, tyranny characterized his military institutions.

He ventured to visit Normandy six months after he left it; but he was compelled to return to England by the popular discontents, which speedily broke out into formidable rebellion. But the vigorous exertions of William quickly suppressed it. He now commenced an open and unjust course of confiscations, the consequence of which was the self exile of many eminent Englishmen, who were ever afterwards ready to join in an invasion of the country, which they might otherwise have fought to defend. Among these was Edgar Atheling, who took refuge in Scotland, and afterwards returned at the head of a Scottish force, to act against the Normans; but his attempts failed, with many others, and he again submitted to the conqueror, and afterwards lived peaceably in England.

While thus he strengthened himself by making Normans the landholders of England, the duchy of Normandy received an accession by the will of Herbert, the last Count of Maine, who made William the heir of his dominions. His son Robert now began openly to aspire to dominion over Normandy and Maine; but William refused his request, remarking, that he never threw off his clothes till he went to bed. War ensued, and the father brought over an army of Englishmen to expel the son. The King of France furnished Robert with the Castle of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoisin. Here he gallantly defended himself, when besieged by the king, and many combats occurred under its walls, resembling the conflicts of a tournament rather than those of ordinary war. In one of these, Robert encountered the king; and a fierce combat between them ended in William's being wounded in the arm, and thrown from his horse. He called for help, when the prince recognised his voice; and, struck with remorse, and a sense of his guilt, he threw himself at his father's feet, and craved pardon for his offences, with promises of future good conduct. William was too resentful to allow of a perfect reconciliation, at that time; but it was afterwards effected by the queen and mutual friends.

A remark made by Philip of France, concerning William, while he lay sick in Normandy, so roused the anger of that king, that he declared war; and, on his recovery, led an army into France, laying waste everything with fire and sword. But an accident closed the hostilities, by putting an end to the monarch's life. His horse suddenly starting aside, the pommel of the saddle bruised his body; in consequence of his corpulence, the contusion brought



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR PROMISING TO OBSERVE THE LAWS OF ENGLAND.

on a mortification, of which he died, in the sixty-third year of his age. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son, Robert; the crown of England, to William; and to Henry he bequeathed the possessions of his mother Matilda. "His character," says an able historian, "may be deduced from his deeds. No prince of the time equalled him, either as a general or a politician; and he surpassed them all in the difficult art of bending men's wills, and achieving great things with a turbulent nobility intractable to every one else. His own temper was naturally fiery; and, when he had nothing to gain by dissimulation, or to fear from those he had insulted, he gave the reins to his passion, and completely forgot that dignity and majesty of demeanour, which was in part innate, but still more assumed, to impose upon the herd." One of the writers of the Saxon chronicle, who says "he looked on him, and somewhat lived in his herd," describes him as being a very stern man, and so hot and passionate that no man durst gainsay his will; as one who took money by right and unright, falling into great avarice, and loving greediness withal, not recking how sinfully his officers got money of poor men, or how many unlawful things they did. He was, however, religiously inclined, after the fashion of his age; and whatever might be the schemes of ambition, or the butcheries in

which he was engaged, he never failed to hear the mass of his private chaplain in the morning, or to say his prayers at night.

While these changes of dynasty were taking place in France and England, Italy and Germany seem to have followed in their footsteps—Italy, it may be, in the downward course of France; but Germany was beginning to gather strength, as we have seen England do, notwithstanding her many revolutions. In Italy, whoever at this period approached the walls of Rome with an army, was crowned emperor of the west. Thus Guy Duke of Spoleto, was raised to the imperial throne in 891; and on his death, three years afterwards, he was in the same way succeeded by Lambert. Meanwhile in Germany Charles the Fat was succeeded in 887 by Arnulph, son of his brother, Carloman. This active prince defeated the Normans at Louvaine, in the Netherlands, and then marched against Rome. There his army was so much weakened by the pestilential influence of the climate, that he was on the point of retreating to Germany, when the Romans commenced hooting and taunting him from their walls. This filled the German soldiers with fury; and without waiting for orders they turned back, filled the ditches, stormed the gates, scaled the walls, and took the city (896). Arnulph was, according to the custom of the time, crowned emperor. He returned to Germany, where he died in 899; whether from the effects of the pestilence in Italy, or from poison, is still a matter of dispute among historians. He was succeeded on the throne of Germany by his son, Louis the Child. During the reign of Louis, Germany was annually devastated by the Hungarians, who, by suddenly precipitating themselves in masses upon one or other of the different and separate provinces, surprised the people, killed and burned whatever fell in their way, and drove many of the inhabitants back before them as slaves. The Germans, as yet, had no walled towns; and it was impossible for them to defend themselves from these barbarians, in their scattered and indefensible habitations. Louis, the last of the Carlovingian line in Germany, however, fortunately for the kingdom, died in the year 911. The nobles, some of whom had already become powerful and erected for themselves dukedoms, immediately assembled and offered the crown to Otho the Illustrious, Duke of Saxony and Thuringia; and thus originated the custom of electing the rulers of Germany. He, however, not wishing to take upon himself the cares of such a kingdom, declined the honour and recommended to their choice Conrad, Duke of Franconia. Conrad I. was therefore elected king in November 911. During his reign, many revolts happened among the slightly-connected States: but, by timely concessions to some, and energetic measures towards others, Conrad succeeded in maintaining the national unity and in re-establishing tranquillity. On his death, in 918, the States, at his desire, elected as his successor, Henry Duke of Saxony and Thuringia.

Henry I., surnamed the Fowler, reigned over Germany eighteen years. In the first two years of his reign he reduced the dukes of Suabia and Bava-

ria, who refused to do him homage, and conquered the province of Lorraine, which had hitherto wavered between France and Germany. He then turned his arms against the Slavonians and the Hungarians, who had made continual predatory incursions into his territory. He captured one of the Hungarian princes, and, for his ransom, and the promise of tribute, he negotiated a peace, or rather a truce, of nine years. The Slavonians were defeated at Brandenburg, in 928; and the next year a great battle was fought with them near Lenzen, in which they were almost annihilated, and finally subjected to the Germans. In the same year, Henry added Bohemia to his other possessions.

When the nine years' truce was fulfilled, the Hungarians invaded Germany in two great divisions. One of them entering the kingdom by the way of Thuringia, was attacked and completely annihilated. The other laid siege to Meresburg, on the eastern side. The king, who had well improved the nine years in training and disciplining his army for the expected invasion, met them near Meresburg, where he gained a complete victory, capturing or destroying nearly the whole of the enemy (934).^{*} For this great victory, Henry, on the field of battle, fell down on his knees, and thanked God; and his whole army followed his example. From that time he was called "the father of his country," and "emperor." By this victory Germany was relieved from the disgraceful tribute which they had been compelled to pay the barbarians. Henry was the instituter of chivalry, the reformer of the nobles, the founder of cities and citizenship, and the promoter of civilization. He died in the year 936, and his son Otho was elected to succeed him.

The reign of Otho I. the Great, was disturbed by domestic insurrections, which he could with difficulty overcome. Meanwhile, circumstances had occurred in Italy, which caused Otho to look with longing eyes towards that country. Ever since the extinction of the Carlovingian branch, says Kohlrausch, numerous pretenders to its dominion had started up, scattering disorder and destruction throughout that beautiful land; in addition to which, bands of plundering strangers had either taken up their quarters, or made continual incursions throughout the country. Here and there the Saracens were found regularly housed among the rocks of the sea-coast, while the hordes of the Hungarians, or Magyars, frequently overran the rich and fertile plains of Upper Italy. In the south of Italy, the dominion of the Greek emperors, to which Naples had lately been added, still maintained itself, and extended almost to Rome, and their mercenaries were a scourge to the land.[†] In Upper Italy, when Arnulph was crowned Emperor, Berenger Duke of Friuli, took the title of King of Italy. He was deposed, in 900, by Louis, Duke of Arles; but in 905 he recovered his throne, and in 915 caused himself to be crowned emperor, by Pope John X. In 922 he was defeated in the battle of Placentia, by Rodolph, king of Burgundy, who, in 926, left the kingdom of Italy to Hugh

^{*} Blair.

[†] History of Germany.

of Provence. He reigned nineteen years, and was succeeded by Lothaire, the last king of the Burgundian race, who, dying in the year 950, Berenger II. took forcible possession of the crown. Adelaide, the widow of Lothaire, supported by the pope, supplicated the aid of Otho. This was what Otho so long wished for; he crossed the Alps in 951; captured several of the largest Italian cities; completely reduced Berenger and married Adelaide. Berenger consented to hold Lombardy as a fief of the king of Germany, and Otho recrossed the Alps. On his return to Germany his eldest son rebelled against him, and succeeded in drawing into the conspiracy several of the princes of the empire. Otho, however, soon subdued them and pardoned his son.

In 955 the Huns, more numerous than ever, again invaded Germany; but were completely defeated by Otho, at the bloody battle of Augsburg; when, it is said, nearly 60,000 men of the barbarians perished. In the same year another victory was obtained over the Slavonians. Complaints now reached Otho of the tyranny of Berenger, who had rebelled against his authority; and he again crossed the Alps to chastise him. He led such an army into Italy, that Berenger fled, and every city opened its gates and hailed him as a deliverer. He was crowned king of Italy in November, 961; and, proceeding directly to Rome, he was crowned emperor of the west by Pope John XII., in February, 962. Thus were Italy and Germany again united under one emperor. The pope, being charged by the Roman clergy and people with many crimes which ill became the head of the church, he was reprimanded by Otho; and consequently, while the emperor was absent in pursuit of Berenger, the pope recalled Adelbert, the son of Berenger, to oppose him to the German emperor; and it is even said that he entered into a plot to expel the Germans from Italy. Otho returned to Rome and convoked an ecclesiastical council, by which John was deposed and Leo VIII. chosen in his stead. During the remainder of his reign the empire was continually harassed by insurrections; but his presence was all that was necessary to subdue them. Having procured the election of his son Otho II. to be his successor, and his marriage with Theophania, daughter of Nicephorus, emperor of the East, Otho I. died at Memleben, A.D. 973.

Otho II. surnamed the Bloody, proud, violent, and unequal in his conduct, continually drew Germany and Italy into bloody wars. It was in his reign that Lothaire of France advanced to Aix-la-Chapelle, and took possession of Lorraine.* In a treaty of peace subsequently concluded, Lorraine was restored to Germany. In 977 Otho conquered Bohemia and re-annexed it to his empire. He then claimed Apulia and Calabria, in the south of Italy, as the dowry of his wife Theophania, and set out with a large army to take possession of them. The Greeks, however, refused to give them up; and calling to their aid the Saracens and Arabs of Sicily and Africa, defeated Otho

* See ante, pp. 63—64.

in a decisive battle fought in Calabria in July, 982. He returned to the north of Italy to collect another army; but was attacked by a raging fever, of which he died in December, 983, in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

His son Otho III. was elected and crowned emperor of Germany and Italy at the age of twelve years. His mother, however, the Empress Theophania, governed wisely in his name. Disturbances broke out in Lorraine, Bavaria, and Italy. They were soon quieted by the wisdom and activity of Theophania. She, however, died in 991, leaving the young king under the care of Bernward, afterwards bishop of Hildesheim. In Rome Crescentius, a Patrician, again raised the standard of revolt and banished Pope Gregory V. Otho marched against him, reinstated the pope, besieged Crescentius in Engleburg, which he took by storm and executed the rebel in the sight of his army (979).

Otho III. died in 1002, and the princes elected to the vacant throne Henry II. *the Lamb*, Duke of Bavaria. He reigned for twenty-two years. During that time he was so much harassed by repeated insurrections both in Italy and Germany, that he seriously designed to abdicate and retire to a monastery, when he was carried off by death, A. D. 1024. He was the last of the Saxon dynasty, which, like that of the Carolingians, had commenced vigorously, but ended with very little strength.*



CONRAD II.

CONRAD II. Count of Franconia being chosen by the electors, impoverished the empire by his unwise liberality. During his reign and that of his son and successor Henry III., Italy was distracted by the domestic wars of rival factions; but the imperial authority was firmly supported by Henry. He deposed three popes and gave the pontifical chair to a German, Clement II., and then exacted an oath from the Romans that they would never elect a pope without first consulting the emperor.

Henry IV. succeeded his father at the tender age of five years; and the papal power taking advantage of his long minority, gradually recovered its influence over the empire.†

During the reign of the Emperor Romanus the Second, his general, Nicephorus Phocas, after a siege of seven months, reduced and took possession of Candia, and with it of the whole island of Crete (960). This was the beginning of the downfall of the Saracenic empire. Nicephorus was rewarded, in

* Turner—Kohlransch—Des Michels—Gibbon—Blair.

† Taylor.

963, with the imperial diadem and the hand of Theophano, the empress and the murderess of her husband Romanus II. The new emperor was ambitious, hypocritical, avaricious, and deformed; but he was a brave warrior, the descendant of a race illustrious by their military exploits, and had just returned crowned with the laurels of victory from Crete. He assumed the imperial power with the title of Nicephorus II., without degrading the infant sons of Romanus. He had the honour of again vanquishing the Saracens, and took from them Antioch and several other places. His avarice and tyranny, however, made him detested; his own wife joined in a conspiracy against him and he was murdered in bed.

John Zimisces, an Armenian noble and one of the assassins, seized the empire. A brave and warlike prince, he succeeded in delivering it from the Russians, whom he defeated in many engagements. In consequence of this success, the victorious Zimisces was received with triumphal honours, on his return to his capital, and hailed as the saviour of the empire and the conqueror of the East. But his chamberlain poisoned him, and the throne came into the possession of Basil II., the grandson of Porphyro-genitus, A. D. 976. During his long reign of nearly half a century, Basil the Second subdued the insurrection of his generals Phocas and Sclerus, made several expeditions against the Saracens, and finally destroyed the kingdom of Bulgaria. After his death, in A. D. 1025, his brother, Constantine IX., enjoyed the pleasures of power for three years longer, when he also died, the last of the Macedonian dynasty, on the 12th of November, 1028.* His death was followed by a series of the blackest crimes known to history. His daughter Zoe married Romanus Argyropulus, who was proclaimed emperor. Becoming enamoured of Michael Paphlagonotus, she gave poison to Romanus and then drowned him in a bath. The conscience of the patriarch of Constantinople was quieted with gold, and he conferred on Michael the hand of the murderess and the crown, 1034. Paphlagonotus died of remorse, and the queen married and raised to the throne Michael Calaphates, the son of a ship-caulker. Refusing to be a slave to her will, he was punished by the loss of the crown and of his eyes. After a year, Zoe married Constantine Monomachus, 1042, whose cruelty and tyranny were only equalled by his avarice.

In 1057 Isaac Comnenus was proclaimed emperor; he applied the abundant revenues of the monks to the defence of the empire, and became, in consequence, hated by them. Lamed by a fall from his horse, he resigned the crown to Constantine Ducas and entered upon the duties of a monastic life, 1059. Ducas gave up the provinces to the ravages of the Turks. He made his three sons emperors and left the regency to their mother, exacting from her a promise that she would never marry. But she became enamoured of

* Russell—Taylor—Gibbon.

Romanus Diogenes, who had been condemned to suffer death as a public malefactor, violated her pledge, and raised him to the empire.

In the early part of the eleventh century occurred a revolution in the south of Europe which put an end to the petty wars which the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Lombards had waged for the possession of Southern Italy during the greater part of a century. This occurrence, the establishment of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies by the Normans, resulted from the custom of visiting holy places; in which this warlike people indulged both their ancient ardour for strange and perilous enterprises and their devotion to a new faith. Forty Norman pilgrims happened to be at Salerno on their return from a visit to the Holy Sepulchre, when a fleet of Sicilian Saracens appeared before the town and demanded contributions. The effeminate citizens would have yielded; but the strangers sallied from the gates, charged the enemy with fury and so inspired the townsmen by their example, that the Saracens were driven, with immense slaughter, to the shelter of the ship they had quitted. Returning home, the pilgrims gave an account to their countrymen of a land beyond the Alps, where exploits might be achieved without difficulty, and where the richest booty might be obtained with facility. A Norman knight, named Drengot, first emigrated from Normandy with his family and retainers, and found abundant employment in the domestic quarrels of the Greeks. Their first attempts were not remarkable for success, and they entered into the service of the Lombard princes of Salerno and Capua, adapting their fidelity and constancy to the amount of their pay. Established in the town of Aversa, near Naples, by the gratitude of those they served, they presented a rallying point and an asylum for other adventurers. Of nine sons of Tancred of Hauteville, a Norman châtelain, seven left their father's house to carve out for themselves fortunes in Italy. Three of these brothers became the most distinguished knights in the army with which the Greek patrician Maniaces attempted to reconquer Sicily from the Saracens. Aided by their intrepidity and that of the three hundred Normans who followed them, Maniaces made considerable progress in reducing the island; but he refused them a share of the spoil and rewarded their labours with injustice and ingratitude. They therefore returned to Aversa, where all the Normans determined to assist them in their revengeful scheme of wresting from the Greeks their whole possessions in Italy. Maniaces was succeeded by Dokian, whose misconduct occasioned dissensions among the Greeks, of which the Normans took advantage to capture the greater part of Apulia. In an assembly held at Amalfi, in 1043, the Norman conquests were divided among the twelve principal chiefs, and the title of Count of Apulia was bestowed on William of the Iron Arm, the eldest son of Tancred of Hauteville, and successively passed to his three brothers.

After the battle fought at Civitella with Pope Leo, that pontiff became thoroughly reconciled to them, and granted to their prayers the investiture, as a fief of the Holy See, all the lands they already possessed and such as they

might thenceforward conquer in Sicily and Southern Italy. From the year 1046 Robert Guiscard and Roger, also sons of Tancred, had associated themselves with their brothers, William, Drogon, and Humphrey. Robert succeeded to the power of Humphrey in 1057, made himself master of the two Calabrias, and arrogated to himself the ducal dignity; thereby raising himself above the other Norman counts. For twenty years he persevered, with scanty numbers, in the scheme of subjugating the dominions of both the Greek and Lombard princes, and in confirming his authority over the haughty and turbulent Norman barons. He finally obtained from Pope Nicholas II. the confirmation of his assumed titles of Duke of Calabria and Apulia; and the republics of Campania alone preserved a doubtful independence by electing him as their duke.

Whilst Robert was thus employed on the continent, his brother Roger had engaged in the astonishing design of conquering the island of Sicily from its infidel possessors. The pretext for Norman interference in the affairs of the island was found in the pontifical donation, and in the calls for assistance extended by one of the many parties into which the inhabitants of the island were divided, to Robert Guiscard. In the first attempt, Roger braved in an open boat the dangers of Scylla and Charybdis; landed with sixty soldiers on a foreign shore; drove the Saracens to the gates of Messina, and returned laden with spoil. Besieged in the fortress of Trani, where three hundred Normans withstood the forces of the whole island, he found many opportunities for the display of his fortitude and courage; and he used, in old age, pleasantly to relate, that during the continuance of the siege, himself and the Countess, his wife, had been reduced to a single cloak, which they wore alternately. In a sally, his horse was slain, and he was dragged away by the Saracens; but he escaped by the virtue of his sword, and brought away his saddle on his back, lest the enemy might boast of a trophy. In the field of Ceramio, fifty thousand horse and foot fled before one hundred and thirty-six Christian soldiers, "without reckoning," says Gibbon, "St. George, who fought on horseback in the foremost ranks." Adopting the supposition that each of the knights included in this number was, as usual, attended by five or six followers, the disproportion of the forces will still stagger our belief in the chronicle of Norman glories. The Arabs of Sicily derived a frequent and powerful succour from their brethren in Africa; in the siege of Palermo the Norman cavalry was assisted by the galleys of Pisa, and in the hour of action the envy of the two brothers, Robert and Roger, was sublimed to a generous and noble emulation.*

But the Saracens were embroiled in internal discord, and their island was broken up into numerous petty states; we may therefore attribute to their dissensions a great part of the success which the chroniclers of the Normans

* Gibbon.



NORMANS CONQUERING SICILY.

have assigned to their good swords alone.* Thirty years were consumed by the patient and persevering Roger in the accomplishment of his designs; but the largest and most fruitful island of the Mediterranean at length acknowledged his sway, and, with the title of Great Count, Roger held Sicily as a fief of his brother's duchy.

Whilst Roger was engaged in subduing Sicily, Robert, who found that that conquest would be of little benefit to himself, boldly invaded the empire of the east. Two years were spent in collecting forces and making preparations for executing this magnificent design. At Otranto, the heel or extreme southern promontory of Italy, the forces were assembled; Robert, his wife, who fought by his side; Bohemond, his son by a former marriage; thirteen hundred knights of Norman race or discipline, and retainers sufficient to swell the number of the forces to thirty thousand, were there embarked for the shores of Epirus. The brave patrician, George Palæologus, was prepared to defend the important city of Durazzo, the western key of the Grecian empire. The fleet of Robert was wrecked in the passage, and before it had recovered from the effects of the storm it was attacked by that of the Greeks. The valour of Bohemond, as yet a beardless youth, suspended the fate of the conflict until the second day, when the Apulian galleys fled before the terrible Greek fire. At the same time the camp of the Normans was boldly attacked by a party sallying from the town, which also received timely succours from without. Pestilence, too, came to thin the already weakened forces of Robert; but he remained undismayed, and vigorously pushed the siege, whilst he endea-

* Procter's Italy.

voured to raise reinforcements in Italy. Meanwhile the Greek sceptre had passed into the hands of Alexis Comnenus, the founder of the Comnenian dynasty. At his accession he found the throne menaced by Turks in the east, and Normans in the west; and he made a hasty peace with the former, that he might the more readily crush the latter. Six months sufficed this active ruler to raise an army of seventy thousand men, and perform a march of five hundred miles. Exiles, soldiers of fortune, deserters, and renegades from almost every nation of Europe and Asia, were to be found in the formidable host thus brought to the rescue of Durazzo. On the report and distant prospect of these formidable numbers, Robert assembled a council of his principal officers. "You behold," said he, "your danger; it is urgent and inevitable. The hills are covered with arms and standards, and the emperor of the Greeks is accustomed to wars and triumphs. Obedience and union are our only safety; and I am ready to yield the command to a more worthy leader." The vote and acclamation, even of his secret enemies, assured him, in that perilous moment, of their esteem and confidence; and the duke continued: "Let us trust in the rewards of victory, and deprive cowardice of the means of escape. Let us burn our vessels and our baggage, and give battle on this spot as if it were the place of our nativity and our burial." The resolution was unanimously approved, and Robert immediately carried it into effect.

Before the break of day, the army of Alexis marched, in two columns, to surprise the band of Robert, now reduced to fifteen thousand men. The Lombards and Calabrians fled towards the river and the sea; but they found less danger in bold and manly combat than in retreat, and many of them returned to the aid of the eight hundred knights, who stood firm and entire around the standard of the duke, and his Amazon wife, Gaita. Wounded by an arrow, this heroic woman disdained to quit the field; boldly continuing her efforts, she strove to rally the flying troops by exhortation and example. "Your enemy is implacable, and death is less grievous than servitude," were the words addressed by the magnanimous duke to his followers, as he led them to charge the exposed flanks of the Varangians, the sinews of the Greek army. The shock of his cavalry was furious and irresistible; the Varangians were slaughtered, the Turks fled, the emperor despised his subjects and despaired of his fortunes. The pusillanimity of the Italians had proved fatal to many of them; but only thirty Norman knights were slain on this glorious day; five thousand of the Grecian host stained the field with their blood. Durazzo was taken on the 8th February, 1082: Robert traversed Epirus and the mountains of Thessaly, surprised the city of Castoria, approached Thessalonica, and made Constantinople tremble. But he now commanded but one-third of the number with which he had set out from Otranto; and instead of receiving succours from Italy, his affairs there demanded his immediate presence. He returned to Italy in a single vessel, leaving Bohemond with the army, to pursue the plan of conquest thus ably commenced. So well did Bohemond perform his part,



ROBERT GUISCARD ORDERING HIS SHIPS TO BE BURNED.

that the unfortunate Greeks compared the two destroyers to the caterpillar and the locust—the last of whom destroys whatever has escaped the teeth of the former.* Alexis was twice defeated by him; but his resources were great, while those of Bohemond daily became less; he therefore abandoned the conquests he could not defend, and rejoined his father in Italy. In that country Robert supported Gregory VII., against the empire, in his struggle for investitures. In the reverses which befell that great pontiff, in his latter years, he was saved by Robert from falling into the hands of the Emperor Henry IV. Shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo by the Imperialists, the life of the unfortunate pontiff would have been sacrificed but for his Norman ally, who hastened to Rome, burnt half the city, released the pope, and gave him an asylum in his own domains. No sooner was the war thus finished in Italy, than Robert renewed his designs against the eastern empire. His troops fol-

* Gibbon.

lowed his standard with the confidence of success, and a career of the most brilliant character seemed about to open before his arms. The fleet of the emperor was defeated in a great combat; but the duke had fought long enough; the great actions which had occupied him through life had exhausted his strength. He fell ill and died at Cephalonia; and though no enemy appeared, his victorious army dispersed or retreated in disorder. His soldiers embarked the body of their general in a galley, for Italy; and though the vessel was wrecked, his remains were recovered and entombed in the sepulchre of Venusia.

Robert Guiscard was succeeded in his duchy by his son Roger, to the exclusion of the brave Bohemond, whose military prowess soon sought a field in Palestine, where he and his noble cousin, Tancred, founded the principality of Antioch. The reigns of the son and grandson of Robert, his immediate successors, are not remarkable for any great events. On the death of the grandson, William, in 1127, without children, the whole inheritance of the Hauteville family in Italy and Sicily came into the possession of Roger II., the son of Roger I., and the nephew of Robert Guiscard. During the reign of this prince, the war between the rival popes, Anacletus and Innocent II., attracted the attention of Europe. The arms of the Normans triumphantly seated the former in the Vatican; the claims of the latter were acknowledged by the European nations. The German sovereign came to the aid of his favourite; Anacletus died, and Roger was driven from Apulia. But he speedily recovered his possessions; and when the pope followed the example of his predecessor Leo, and took the field against him, he carried out the play, took him prisoner, and secured his friendship. Anacletus had conferred the regal title on his brave supporter; Innocent confirmed it for his too powerful friend. Despite the efforts of the Emperor Lothaire II., and of the Pisans, Roger successfully defended his possessions, made himself master of Naples, in 1139, opposed with advantage the naval forces of the Emperor Manuel, and founded, on the most beneficial institutions, a power which we shall soon see transferred to the princes of another family.*

A glance at the progress of the Moors in Spain, and the Saracens in the east, will close this chapter. In the former country, the death of Abdelrahman, whose illustrious reign at Cordova was followed by the dissensions of his children, gave some relief to the Christians. The little kingdom of the Asturias increased under the wise rule of Alphonso the Great, and the kingdom of Navarre, founded in 758, by Garcias Ximenes, had commenced the onward course by which it finally became one of the most considerable principalities in Spain. But more than three-fourths of the country, and the most fertile provinces, were in the hands of the infidels. They were, however, divided among themselves, and might have been crushed, had their enemies been firmly

* Michels.



FUNERAL OF ROBERT GUISCARD.

united. But though they all hated the Moors, they loved not each other. The family of Alphonso himself rose up in revolt against him; he resigned his crown to Garcias, the eldest, and even fought under his command. He died in 912, alike distinguished by martial glory and saintly piety. In 938, Ramiro II., king of the Asturias, (also called Leon and Oviedo), gained the celebrated victory of Simances, in which the Moors are said to have lost eighty thousand men. He had vowed to St. James, that, if victorious, all his subjects should offer annually a certain measure of wheat to the church of that saint. The battle was fought, the Moors were slain, the church was enriched, and the name of the saint became the war-cry of the Spaniards. With enthusiastic valour the Christians no longer trembled before their enemies; the infidels were taught that the saint was able to protect those who never accorded him their homage. Hashem, king of Cordova, was happy in the possession of his general, Almanzor, perhaps the ablest warrior of his age. The name of St. James was long terrible to the Moors: Almanzor taught them, in a battle

fought on the banks of the Ezla, in 995, that they could conquer in spite of St. James. It is asserted that he vanquished the Christians in fifty engagements. He took the city of Leon by assault, sacked Compostella, pillaged the Church of St. James, and carried its gates in triumph to Cordova. But sickness broke out in his camp; the Christians regarded the distemper as a judgment inflicted by the saint; their enthusiasm rekindled, and they ran to battle with a confidence that insured victory, A.D. 998. Almanzor was so ashamed of his defeat, that he would neither eat nor drink, and in consequence perished of hunger. About the beginning of the eleventh century, the race of Abdelrahman became extinct, and the kingdom of Cordova was dismembered. Toledo, Valencia, Seville, Saragossa, and all the large cities, became independent kingdoms, and a similar increase of sovereigns scorning control, occurred among the Christians. There were kings of Leon, Navarre, Castile, and Arragon; and Pancho of Navarre even subdivided his dominions among his four sons, A.D. 1034. Much ambition, and small means, characterized them all; petty jealousies produced constant wars; and murder, in the camp and in the closet, by the dagger of the assassin, by poison, or in angry altercation, stains every page of the Spanish annals.*

In Asia and in Africa, the close of the ninth century marks the obscuration of the glory of the Caliphate. One after another the African governors threw off their allegiance. Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, formed separate and independent states; and the quarrels of ambition were augmented by the most violent religious enthusiasm. The race of the Fatimites, in Egypt, indulged in all the fury of fanaticism. Cairo, their capital, and the seat of their caliph, became an important city. A new sect of Islamism, sprang up, and acquired strength by persecution. Revolting, they obtained several victories, and seized the provinces on the west coast of Africa which form the present kingdom of Morocco. Their chief, like the other caliphs, assumed the title of the Commander of the Faithful, and united the priesthood with royalty. The caliphs of Bagdad received into their service a body of Turks or Turcomans, a Tartar tribe, whose valour was such that they were employed as the royal guard. The caliphs gradually became effeminate, and the commanders of the guard, subjected those whom they were hired to protect. They made themselves lords of Asia; stripped the caliphs of the sovereignty, but permitted them to retain the pontificate which they revered. Many sovereigns sprung up under the name of Sultans, who received their dominions from the caliphs, but left them no authority. Thus the empires of Charlemagne and the Arabs crumbled in pieces, while that of Constantinople still stood like a large tree, vigorous though old, stripped of its branches, and some of its roots, and buffeted on every side by storms and tempests.†

* Russell—Gibbon—Blair.

† Russell—Voltaire.



HILDEBRAND,

CHAPTER V.

Increase of the Papal Power.



SUPERSTITION, credulity and confidence were the characteristics of the barbarians who overturned the Western empire, and became subjects of the church which survived its fall. Less enlightened, they were more munificent than the earlier Christians, and they eagerly sought to increase, by pious donations, the wealth of the clergy, already endowed with considerable possessions. From every side the bishoprics and the monasteries continually received accessions of territory; the broad lands of the baron being taken, at his death, from his son to expiate upon the altar for his own wicked life. While the clergy in general were thus becoming aggrandized, a scheme was formed for subjecting the whole Church to the government of an ecclesiastical monarch—the bishop of Rome. This functionary was especially venerated; classical and religious prejudices tended alike to produce this effect; and it was still further increased by the habit which the people acquired of looking to Rome for protection and aid, when, as often happened, they were abandoned by their distant rulers, the emperors of the East. In later ages the popes have referred to a grant of the Emperor Constantine, as the foundation of their temporal power; but whether, with Ariosto, we place in the moon the donation of Constantine to the Holy See, or

admit the statements of the fathers of the church to be true, we must assign the foundation of the wealth of the Church to a law passed by that emperor in 321, whereby religious pastors received a legal sanction for their holding property of every description, whether acquired by gift or testamentary disposition.* With wealth, learning, and talent at their command, the bishops gained political ascendancy; and it was long before they ventured to lay aside that moderation by which they reconciled people to the government of the crozier. But the papal authority had made no great progress in any country of the west, except Italy, until the beginning of the seventh century, under the pontificate of the ambitious and zealous Gregory I. By him the divine authority and office of the successors of St. Peter were first clearly defined and acknowledged by the superstitious barbarians to whom they were addressed. The authority thus assumed was gradually confirmed by the lapse of time, though the Church received no great accession of power until, by the breaking out of the contest with the Greek emperor, concerning the worship of images, it gained the independent sovereignty of the city of Rome.

The Eternal City had undergone many strange vicissitudes since the fall of the Western empire; and it is probable that it was only saved from capture at the hands of the Arian Lombards, by the increased strength which was given to it by those who fled to the capital for safety when the provinces fell before the invaders. The clergy, the senate, and the people, all concurred at this time in the election of the pontiff, who, being generally a Roman, was enabled to withdraw from a neglectful emperor the respect and obedience of his Italian subjects. It is not wonderful, therefore, that they sided with the bishop of Rome in the Iconoclastic contests, and transferred their allegiance from the emperor to the popes. By sanctioning the dethronement of Childeric, and the usurpation of Pepin, the pontiffs received the protection and support of the Carlovingian princes, from the greatest of whom they obtained the exarchate of Ravenna, with other substantial temporalities. The popes had hitherto generally merited their elevation by their virtues; but very different men now aspired to the ecclesiastical sovereignty, and their ambitious crimes henceforth sully the annals of the Church. It is inconsistent with the design of this work to follow the papal succession through the many revolutions which convulsed all Italy, and we therefore, with a notice of Leo IV., who so bravely defended the holy city against the Saracens, pass to the time of John XII. That pontiff, the first who changed his name on his accession to the papal chair, was the son of Alberic, a patrician of Rome. Though an ecclesiastic, he succeeded to his father's dignity, and united in his own person the spiritual and temporal authority.

Two years after the death of Berenger I., Hugo Duke of Provence was elected to the Italian throne, A. D. 926, and succeeded in making his authority

* Procter's Italy.

despotic. Every one, who stood in his way, was marked as a victim; among others was his relative, Berenger, grandson of the sovereign of that name. An edict was issued for depriving Berenger and his consort of their eyes; and they escaped with difficulty to the court of Otho, king of Germany. Five years afterwards, A. D. 945, Berenger entered Italy with a few followers, was joined by all the disaffected, and would have wrested the sceptre from the grasp of the tyrant, had not the nobles interfered. They chose Lothaire the son of Hugo, to be king, and appointed Berenger to administer the affairs of the realm in his name. Lothaire died, 950, a supposed victim to the ambition of Berenger, who feared, that as the king was not hated, whilst his queen was adored by the people, the confidence of the nation would be withdrawn from himself. He afterwards demanded for his son the hand of the fair widow, and persecuted her when she steadily resisted the proposal. Her piety touched the



OTHO THE GREAT.

hearts of the priests and the people, and both classes joined with the nobles in entreating Otho the Great to deliver Italy from a king whom they regarded as a despot. The German ruler entered Italy, freed and espoused Adelaide, and reduced Berenger to submission. He suffered him, however, to hold possession of the kingdom as a fief, until 961, when he took advantage of a pretext for dethroning him, afforded by the complaints of the Italian nobles. He imprisoned Berenger for life, and received from Pope John XII. the imperial dignity, which had been suspended for nearly forty years.*

John had been instrumental in causing the emperor to enter Italy; but he soon perceived that by that step he had forged chains for himself, and in the following

year he declared against the emperor. Otho therefore marched to Rome, put John to flight, and assembled a council to try him for the notorious and shameful life which he led. This tribunal deposed him and consecrated Leo VIII. in his place. The emperor had no sooner left the city than the new pope was expelled by the partisans of John, who returned to Rome, reassumed the papal dignity, and died before Otho could depose him again. The Romans chose Benedict V. for his successor, but Otho restored Leo VIII. and exiled Benedict to Germany. When Leo died he gave to John XIII. the keys of St. Peter. This pontiff was expelled by the Romans, and Otho was obliged again to cross the Alps to reinstate him. He now crushed the opposition to

* Procter's Italy.



OTHO ENTERTAINING THE SENATORS.

his will by the execution or exile of all the republican magistracy of Rome. He invited the senators to a splendid feast, surrounded them with his guards, designated his enemies, and ordered them to immediate execution, earnestly entreating the other guests to be merry, and not to suffer their enjoyment to be disturbed by such a trifle. Otho soon afterwards died, having re-established the greater part of Charlemagne's empire. The reign of his successor, Otho II., was less successful. Employed in other parts of the empire, he had little leisure to attend to the disorders which immediately broke out in Italy. The feudal lords endeavouring to establish their independence, the cities to acquire freedom, the pope to uphold the imperial cause, and the popular party to destroy the influence of the head of the church, form the prominent features in the picture of these turbulent times. John XIII. was arrested by Cincius, and strangled in prison; and during the contests for the succession, the miserable eternal city was again filled with licentiousness and disorder, seditions and assassinations. These scandalous proceedings weakened the influence of the papal See; but Sylvester II. removed, by his personal virtues, the opprobrium

which had fallen upon the papacy, and again commenced the augmentation of her power.

The papal and imperial interests were united—the popes supporting the imperial cause against the turbulent nobles of Italy, and the emperors aiding the popes in their struggles with the Roman princes and citizens. The fruits of every victory, however, were secured by the popes, who were always on the spot, whilst the attention of the emperors was distracted by other objects. But the power of the See was not fully consolidated, owing to the factions of the citizens of Rome. Three rival popes shared the revenues at one time, A. D. 1045, each rivalling the others in licentiousness and extravagance. A pious priest, John Gratian, persuaded them all to resign, and was himself elected to the papal chair under the title of Gregory VI. But the Emperor Henry procured his deposition and the election of Clement II.

This new pope conceded to their emperor, for the future, an explicit right of nominating his successors. Clement was averse to his own elevation; he felt the imprudence of the emperor in deposing Gregory, who was infinitely better than his predecessors; and he perhaps anticipated the fate which was about to befall him. Nine months after his elevation he was killed by poison, administered at the instigation of Benedict IX., one of the popes deposed by Gregory. His successor, Damasus II., met with the same fate.

We have next to notice the career of a man of dauntless courage, unbounded ambition, and stern, unconquerable energies; a man in whose breast, hardened by the solitude of the cloister, were cherished none of the feelings of humanity or conscience; none of the holier passions which tend to turn men aside from the relentless career of ambition. Self, in Hildebrand, was totally lost in the higher feeling of zeal for the church; her head, he thought, should be raised above all the princes and kings of this earth; and the accomplishment of this desirable end he pursued during his whole life with a constancy, prudence, and power of will, which have placed him in the front rank of energetic men. The inalienable attribute of the Roman pontiffs, as the representatives of the divine power on earth, was a divine right to universal obedience: immediately from them as suzerains, emperors and kings held their crowns—patriarchs and bishops their mitres. This was the doctrine of Hildebrand; and no opportunity of asserting it was suffered to pass unimproved. Thus he informs the French monarch that every house in his kingdom owed to Peter, as its father and pastor, an annual tribute of a penny; and he commands his legates to collect the same, in token of the subjection of France to the Holy See. He assures Solomon, the king of Hungary, that his territories are the property of the Holy Roman Church. Solomon, being incredulous and refractory, is dethroned by his competitor for the Hungarian crown. His more prudent successor, Ladislaus, acknowledged himself the vassal of the pope and paid him tribute. To Corsica a legate is sent to govern the demesnes of the papacy in the island, and to recover the rest of it from the Saracens.

To the Sardinians an account is despatched of her title to their obedience, with menaces of a Norman invasion if it should be withheld. On Demetrius Duke of Dalmatia we find the pontiff conferring the kingly title, reserving the yearly payment of two hundred pieces of silver "to the holy Pope Gregory and his successors lawfully elected as supreme lords of the Dalmatian kingdom." Among the visiters at Rome was a youth described in one of his epistles as son of the king of Prussia. The letter informs the sovereign so designated, that at the request of the young prince, the pontiff had administered to him the oath of fealty to St. Peter and his successors, not doubting that "it would be approved by the king and all the lords of his kingdom, since the apostle would henceforth regard their country as his own, and defend it accordingly." From Sweno the Dane he exacted a promise of submission. From the recently converted Poles he demanded and received, as sovereign lord of the country, an annual tribute of an hundred marks in silver. From every part of the European continent bishops are summoned, by his missives, to Rome, and there are either condemned or deposed, or absolved and confirmed in their Sees. In France, in Spain, and in Germany, we find his legates exercising the same power; and his correspondence records many a stern rebuke, sometimes for their undue remissness, sometimes for their misapplied severity. The rescripts of Trajan scarcely exhibit a firmer assurance both of the right and the power to control every other authority, whether secular or sacerdotal, throughout the civilized world."*

The man who carried the power of the papacy to such a mighty eminence, was the son of a carpenter at Saone, an Italian city. While the distinctions of caste were rigidly established in all the forms of social life, the clerical state knew no aristocracy but that of talent; and the talents of Hildebrand procured him an elevation as rapid as it was portentous. The holiness of his life, the severity with which he disciplined himself, and his zealous obedience to the wishes of his superiors, had rendered his name widely celebrated, and gained for him much influence by the time when the news of the assassination of Pope Damasus II. reached him in his cell, within the lofty walls of the rich monastery of Clugni. Hildebrand left his retreat for the imperial court, hoping to have some influence in the nomination of a successor to the murdered pontiff; but on the road he learned that the diet at Worms, by direction of the emperor, had invested Bruno bishop of Toul, with the tiara, under the title of Leo IX. Virtuous principles, and strict integrity, but weakness in intellect, and want of firmness, characterized the new pope. Hildebrand knew his failings, and how to take advantage of them; nor is it surprising that at the first interview the sovereign who came to demand the homage, should virtually resign himself to the direction of the subtle monk. Leo dreaded that the circumstance of his having been nominated by the em-

* Edinburgh Review. See Art. Hildebrand.

peror, and elected by a German diet, would render him unpopular in Italy. Hildebrand regarded an election made at the bidding of a secular power, without the precincts of the holy city, as a profane title to the seat of the Prince of the Apostles. His active mind, however, readily devised a method for overcoming the difficulty. At his bidding the pontiff elect, who had come to Clugni with the pomp, the insignia, and the retinue of his office, departed from it as a pilgrim to the tomb of St. Peter. Barefooted, with humble garb and lowly aspect he entered the holy city, having no human attendant save his austere adviser. The acclamations of the Roman clergy and people, gratified at this acknowledgment of their electoral privileges, rewarded the self-abasing candidate with a new, and, as he deemed it, a better title to the chair of Saint Peter. The successful schemer rewarded himself with the rank of a cardinal, and the offices of sub-deacon of Rome and superintendent of the church and convent of St. Paul.

The excesses committed by the Norman conquerors aroused the indignation of Leo, who laid aside his dignity to lead an army against them. The emperors Constantine IX. and Henry III. furnished him with troops, but he was completely defeated, and fell into the hands of his enemies at Civitella, in 1053. The victors, however, instead of exulting in their success, prostrated themselves before him and implored absolution for the guilt of having defended themselves against him. Leo was affected by their entreaties and readily pardoned them. But his indomitable adviser divided with the conquerors themselves the proceeds of the victory. He conceded the great fiefs of Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily to the Normans, but retained the suzerainty over them for the Holy See. Thus he exchanged a comparatively valueless territory for a new feudal dominion, and the allegiance of warlike vassals, who might stand him in good stead when the hour had arrived for engaging in the conflict which was to assign to the Roman crozier the supreme dominion over the Christian world. But that hour was yet distant, and the clear-sighted Hildebrand patiently awaited its approach.

Gebhard, bishop of Eichstadt, was selected by the wily Italian as best fitted to fill the vacant papacy, and he personally besought the Emperor Henry to acquiesce in the choice of a prelate who possessed his unbounded confidence and affection. Henry saw the net which had been spread for him, but he could not avoid it; every objection was answered; every other candidate was shown to be less suited for the elevation than Gebhard, the priest without reproach, the holy statesman, who had ever lent his advice and his authority to support the imperial resistance to papal encroachments. Gebhard therefore became pope with the title of Victor II. The result proved the accuracy with which Hildebrand had directed his measures. With the triple crown, Victor accepted in their fullest extent the anti-imperial principles which it had been the work of his previous life to oppose. Oppressed with the weight of gratitude which was due to so disinterested a patron, Victor found for him an honourable exile



LEO IX. ABSOLVING THE NORMANS.

in the capacity of papal legate in France. In one year he returned in triumph to Rome, and the pope accepted him as his chief adviser and director. In that short time he had summoned before his legantine tribunal the whole body of ecclesiastical dignitaries subject to his control, on a charge of simony; he had convicted over eighty of them in a manner which was deemed supernatural, and which gained for him the wonder and the awe of the ignorant, and the admiration of the learned and the great, and had adjudged to Henry and his successors the imperial dignity, when that monarch and Ferdinand of Castile referred their rival claims to his arbitration.

At the death of Henry, his infant son ascended the imperial throne as Henry IV. Victor II. soon followed the emperor to the grave, and Frederick of Lorraine, by the influence and for the ends of Hildebrand, was chosen to succeed him. Frederick was the brother of Godfrey, who, during the minority of his daughter acted as Duke of Tuscany. By his election to the papacy, Hildebrand united to the pretensions of the See the arms of the most powerful of the Italian states. Stephen IX., that was the title he assumed, rewarded his cunning benefactor with the offices of cardinal-archdeacon of Rome and legate at the imperial court. Eight months afterwards he died. Hildebrand then returned from Germany, and caused Gerard (Nicholas II.),

another adherent of the ducal house of Tuscany, to be chosen pope. He had brought with him, in anticipation, the consent of the infant emperor to the election. Nicholas, as the tool of the great designer, summoned a council, at which, in 1059, the exclusive right of voting at papal elections was conferred on the college of cardinals. This bold, revolutionary measure set aside both the privilege of the emperor to confirm, and the right of the Romans to elect the successor of St. Peter. The Norman freebooter, Robert Guiscard, effectually crushed the opposition of the Roman counts and barons, and was rewarded for his zeal with the title of duke, and the recognition of his sovereignty over all his conquests. Nicholas soon after died, leaving to the aspiring ruler the opportunity of deciding the impending controversy by the choice of a new pope without the interference of the empress regent. Hildebrand first suggested to the empress a compromise: if Agnes would consent that the cardinals only should vote at the election, he would guarantee that the choice should fall upon the candidate whom she would name. His proposal was rejected: an imperialist synod chose Cadolous, bishop of Parma, to fill the vacant papacy under the title of Honorius II. Hildebrand and his adherents elevated Anselm, bishop of Lucca, who chose the title of Alexander II., and evinced his gratitude to the godly monk by appointing him to the office of chancellor of the Holy See. The claims of the rival popes were referred to a council: the election of Alexander was confirmed, and the triple crown adorned his brow for twelve years. At his death the reward which had been so long within the grasp of the self-controlling Hildebrand, the possession of the tiara, the summit of sacerdotal ambition, was now to be his. On a bier in the great church of the Lateran the body of Alexander was extended; a solemn requiem recommended his soul to the Supreme Judge, and thousands of pious visitors listened to the plaintive strain. Suddenly a universal shout, proceeding from all parts of the crowded edifice, proclaimed the will of St. Peter that the holy chancellor was pope. Flying to the pulpit, Hildebrand vainly attempted to calm the uproar; a cardinal announced that the sacred college had unanimously confirmed the choice of the apostle and the laity, and the monk of Clugni, in the robes of the pontificate, was presented to the people. Thus the rejoicings and pomp of the inauguration were mingled with the solemnities and mourning of the funeral.

About to become openly a foe to Germany, the new pontiff laid aside the German name of Hildebrand for that of Gregory VII. Though the resistance of imperial authority had been thus anticipated and defeated, Gregory breathed nothing but submission to the emperor, who ratified the election, though all the world well knew, that had his power equalled his wishes, the emperor would have driven the pope from Italy as a rebel and a usurper; while the pontiff, on his part, was able and determined to defend the position he had so long laboured to attain. The emperor had been educated in all the vices of the times, and his crimes and follies were notorious throughout Europe,

and Hildebrand caused the last act of Alexander to be a summons to the emperor, Henry IV., to appear at Rome, and answer in person to the apostolic throne the charges of simony, a debauched life, and an impious reign. "The voice was Alexander's voice, but the hand was the hand of Gregory." Henry despised the citation of Alexander, and Gregory did not immediately revive it.*

He felt that the church needed to become more pure, that a reputation for austerity was to be universally established, before he could hope to effect her rescue from the hands of laymen. When once rendered free from all other feeling than that of devotion to the church, he saw that the clergy would be qualified for the task of elevating the spiritual above the temporal powers. "The church must recruit her strength by abstinence and sacrifices, must plunge into the icy waters of Styx, and steep herself in chastity."

Already, and during the power of the two popes who had preceded him in the pontificate, he had given out that a married priest was no priest; and great agitation ensued. An active correspondence commenced, leading to a common effort on the part of the priests; when, emboldened by their numbers, they loudly declared that they would keep their wives. "We prefer," they said, "abandoning our bishoprics, abbeys, and cures: let him keep his benefices." The reformer did not flinch. The carpenter's son did not hesitate to let loose the people on the priests. In all directions, the multitude declared against the married pastors, and tore them from the altar. The people once given the rein, a brutally levelling instinct made them delight in outraging all they had adored; in trampling under foot those whose feet they had kissed, in tearing the alb, and in breaking in pieces the mitre. The priests were beaten, cuffed, and mutilated in their own cathedrals; their consecrated wine was drunk, and the host scattered about. The monks pushed on and preached. The people became inspired with a bold mysticism, and habituated to despise form and dash it to atoms, as if to set the spirit free.

This revolutionary purification of the church shook it to its very foundation. The means resorted to were atrocious. The wild anchoret, Pietro Damiani, traversed Italy with curses and maledictions, careless of life, and stripping bare with pious cynicism the turpitude of the church. This was to mark out the married priests for death. Manegold, the theologian, taught that the opponents of reform might be slain without compunction. Gregory VII., himself, approved of the mutilation of a refractory monk.† The attainment of this object (the celibacy of the clergy) was of the greatest importance to Gregory for the completion of his extensive plans; for if the clergy throughout all Christian countries were no longer bound by their domestic cares and anxiety for their children, and were made independent of the temporal lords, the pope would thereby gain so many thousand more zealous servants, who

* Edinburgh Review.

† Michelet.

would listen only to his command, and contribute to fix firmly the dominion of the church over all temporal power.

In order to the more effectual accomplishment of this purpose, Gregory proceeded to render the clergy of the different countries entirely independent of the civil power. As lay vassals received from their sovereigns a banner, to be the mark of their services, so also the grand ecclesiastical dignitaries had hitherto received from their civil princes a ring and a shepherd's crook, as the sign of their investiture. Gregory prohibited the clergy from accepting this symbol of investiture from the hands of the nobles; and insisted that for their elevation they were to be beholden to the papal chair alone, and only to the pope were they to swear the oath of obedience. According to this principle, the pontiff necessarily became sovereign lord of one-third of all the property in the Catholic countries.* Thus was the purification of the church accomplished.

It was now that the Church attacked the Empire. In the savage fierceness of her virginity, having resumed her virtue and renewed her strength, she questioned the age, and summoned it to restore to her the primacy which was her due. She called to account the adultery and simony of the king of France, the schismatic isolation of the Anglican church, and the feudal monarchy personified in the emperor. Of whom does the emperor hold the land which he dares to enfeoff to the bishops, except from God? By what right does matter presume to direct spirit? God has placed in the heavens two great luminaries—the sun, and the moon which borrows her light from the sun. On the earth there is the pope, and the emperor, who is the reflection of the pope—a mere reflection, a pale shadow—let him recognise his own inferiority. Then, the world restored to true order, God will reign, and the vicar of God.†



HENRY IV.

Henry was too proud and too warlike to submit to the yoke which Gregory had prepared for the imperial authority; but his wilful nature peculiarly unfitted him for a contest with the cool, wily, and resolute pontiff. The arbitrary and despotic conduct of the emperor, the consequence of his imperfect education, caused a spirit of disaffection among his German subjects which the crafty Gregory could not fail to mark and encourage. He

would nevertheless have found himself unequal to a struggle with Henry, had

* Kohlrausch's Germany.

† Michelet's France.

he not been supported by the religious amazon, Matilda of Tuscany. Masculine in all respects, save in her devotion, she brought to the support of the Holy See, at this critical juncture, unshaken fortitude, heroic courage, and a weak and trembling female superstition. She was separated from two husbands, successively, because they did not share in her blind attachment to the papacy; she adhered with unshaken fortitude, through all vicissitudes, to Gregory and his successors; and finally she bequeathed, at her death, all the possessions of which she was entitled to dispose, to the Holy See, for the supposed salvation of her soul.

Fortified by her allegiance and resources, Gregory began by excommunicating some of Henry's ministers on the charge of simony, and remonstrated with the emperor because they were not immediately dismissed. He next renewed the papal edict against the lay investitures, and finally, as the consummation of insolence, cited Henry, himself, to appear at Rome, and vindicate himself from the charges of his rebellious subjects. Such insults filled the inexperienced and passionate monarch with violent indignation. He assembled a number of his prelates, and other vassals, at Worms, and procured a sentence that Gregory should no longer be recognised as legitimate pope. (1076).*

"The time had now come," said Gregory, "when the avenging sword must be drawn to smite the enemy of God and of his church;" and he assured the faithful that victory would reward their zeal, or divine consolations soothe their defeat. He then solemnly excommunicated the emperor, and released his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. The sentence ran thus: "In the name of the Almighty God, I forbid to King Henry, the son of the Emperor Henry, who, with naughtiness unheard of, has risen against the church, the government of the German and Italian empire, and absolve all Christians from the oath which they have made or will make to him, and forbid that any one serve him as king. And, occupying thy office, holy Peter, I bind him with the bands of a curse, that all nations may learn that thou art the rock whereon the Son of God founded his church."†



Thus on one precarious issue did the glories of papal Rome seem to have been staked. Men foretold that the emperor would promptly punish the audacious treason, and level the pretensions of the rebel pontiff in the dust. But the advantages were really all on the side of Gregory. Though the emperor was in the prime of life, apparently the most powerful monarch of Europe, and the commander of numerous armies which had just been victorious over

* Procter's Italy.

† Kohlrausch.

the Saxons, yet he lived in continual dissensions with his subjects, and had less real power than any other king. His name, however, was greater than those of his contemporaries; and the victory over him would be therefore more glorious for the pope. In the seeming weakness of the latter there was an invincible strength. In the minds of the people, his cause was that "of sanctity and of truth, of primeval discipline and traditionary reverence, and he himself a martyr, who, in all the majesty of superhuman power, was resolved either to repel the spoiler from the Christian fold, or lay down his life for the sheep."*

The Saxons now rejoiced; for their cause was the cause of the church, and their war-cry became "Holy Peter;" to their disaffection the arrogance of the emperor had added that of many other German princes; and the papal legates toiled actively for the dissemination of hostile feelings among the people. The majority of German princes assembled at Tribur, on the Rhine, to elect a new emperor. Henry hastened to Oppenheim, in the vicinity, and at length, after many entreaties and vows of reform, he obtained from them an extension of one year's delay; and it was decided that, in the meantime, the pope should be requested to come to Augsburg, and himself closely investigate the affair; but if Henry, at the end of the year, was not freed from excommunication, they resolved to proceed immediately to a new election.†

The prelates and nobles of Lombardy alone maintained their courage, and boldly retorted the excommunications of Gregory. Probably animated by the hope of obtaining their efficient aid, Henry resolved to cross the Alps, instead of waiting for the arrival of the pope at Augsburg, where his enemies constituted the majority of the members. The hardships which the unfortunate monarch underwent during this journey, in the depth of a severe winter—the dangers to which he was exposed from the active malice of his enemies—the sight of the sufferings of his amiable queen, Bertha, and her child, who could only travel by being enclosed in the hides of oxen, and thus dragged through the Alpine passes—would have broken a sterner spirit than Henry's. He entered Lombardy completely disheartened; and though his presence there was hailed with joy by his many adherents in Italy, he thought only of conciliating his great enemy. Gregory, learning the arrival of the emperor in Italy, and ignorant of his purposes, had turned aside from his road to Augsburg to seek safety, with Matilda, in the strong fortresses of Canossa. Henry prevailed on that pious daughter of the church to obtain for him an interview with the pope; and he proceeded to Canossa for that purpose in January, 1077.

Snow lay upon the ground, and the streams of the mountains were turned to ice in their beds, when, protected from the keen frost only by a thin, penitential garment of white linen, Henry presented himself a suppliant at the gate of the inhospitable fortress. The frozen, rocky road caused the blood to

* Edinburgh Review.

† Kohlrausch.

stream from his naked feet as he ascended to the outer gate. It opened to admit him; he passed through it and the second gateway, and stood in a posture of humiliating supplication before the third, which barred his progress. During three successive days the sun rose upon him fasting, and left him stiff with cold, faint with hunger, and devoured by shame and ill-suppressed resentment. Lamentations and reproaches rang through the castle of Canossa, and the pope was upbraided as exhibiting the cruelty of a tyrant, rather than the rigour of an apostle. Yet Gregory was inexorable—it would seem as if he were determined to exasperate to madness the emperor himself, and all who would resent as a personal wrong an insult to their sovereign. Powerful as the intercessions of Matilda usually were, they failed now to soften the stony heart of the monk. It was not till the emperor, aroused to resentment by the cruel treatment he had received, had broken away from the scene of his sufferings to take refuge in a convent, that the pope admitted him into his presence, and revoked the anathema of the Vatican. He was compelled to submit his claims to the crown to the future judgment of the Apostolic See—to live as a common citizen, with the title of emperor, until his fate was fixed, and to promise an abject subservience to the papal direction, should he be restored to his authority. But this base humiliation, instead of conciliating his enemies, procured for the emperor the contempt of all classes. His friends were indignant at his abjectness; the pope saw in it the means of working his ruin; and destruction faced him on every side.

The dangers of his position restored him to his wonted intrepidity. Awakening from his dream, he broke off the treaty with Gregory, and resolved, if fall he must, to perish in the support of the imperial rights.* He began the war by a dishonourable, but ineffectual attempt to arrest Gregory and Matilda. But the vigilant princess turned her holy father back from the road to Mantua, whither he was proceeding at the invitation of the emperor, to her native mountain fastnesses. Meanwhile the turbulent German nobles had assembled a council at Forcheim, deposed their legal sovereign, and elected Rodolph, Duke of Swabia, to the imperial dignity. This proceeding, though contrary to the advice of the papal legates, immediately received their sanction, and, in the eyes of the simple-minded Germans, their master was bound by their deed. But Gregory had no intention of being so bound, unless it should chance to suit his convenience. He was now placed in a difficult situation. Canossa, in which he lived, had lately been ceded to the church, with all the other possessions of the fanatical Matilda; but he found himself a prisoner in his new palace. All the Lombard and Tuscan cities were in Henry's possession; his renewed courage had revived the zeal of his adherents, and his troops beset all the passes.

In Germany, too, the hearts of many of the people were with their exiled

* Edinburgh Review.

king. A party of those who viewed with reluctance the coronation of Rodolph, had become involved in a bloody feud with some of the Swabian soldiers in Mentz, before even the audience that witnessed the inauguration ceremony had issued from the church in which it was performed. The whole German people, from the Rhine to the Oder, were aroused. They remembered the courage, courtesy, and munificence of the king, and laid the blame of his youthful excesses to the fault of the very churchmen who had corrupted him, and who now at Canossa subjected him to insult and indignity as the punishment for his corruption.* Thus the papal power was shaken in Germany, and the pope dared not abandon Rodolph, lest he should totally ruin his own cause, whilst the power of the emperor in Italy deterred him from openly declaring against him. He resolved to preserve a mysterious neutrality, and directed his immediate attention to a controversy that had arisen respecting the eucharist. It was finally settled by the disputants, and the doctrine of transubstantiation was generally received as an article of faith.†

Aided by the invincible Otho of Saxony, Rodolph gained two great victories over the emperor, and had the further satisfaction of receiving a crown of gold from Gregory, who departed from his cautious policy and excommunicated Henry. In the mountains of the Tyrol, a council, summoned by the emperor, deposed the pope, and proclaimed as pope the excommunicated Wi-

bert, Archbishop of Ravenna, better known by his title of Clement III. With the Normans and the troops of Matilda to support him, Gregory bade defiance to his enemies. In Germany the war terminated in favour of Henry. Otho was the master-spirit of Rodolph's adherents; and to his direction, all the advantages gained by Rodolph, in the war, are to be attributed. The final battle was fought on the banks of the Elster. The armies advanced to the encounter singing sacred songs; but the holy strains were soon hushed in the fiercer cries of battle. A slight disorder in Henry's line caught the eagle eye of Otho; he rushed upon the wavering troops, and the victory was decided. Thousands of the Germans lay dead upon the ground, or rested beneath the bloody waters of the river, ere night threw her sable curtain over the fatal field. The son of Saxony had secured to Rodolph the imperial crown; but when the victors would have congratulated him



GODFREY OF BOUILLON.

* Edinburgh Review.

† Taylor.

SIEGE OF ROME BY THE NORMANS.



on the result, he was not to be found. The future conqueror of the Holy Tomb had borne on that field the banner of the lawful emperor. In the thickest of the fight, Rodolph and Godfrey of Bouillon met each other face to face. The rebel monarch received a thrust in his stomach from the spear on the imperial banner in the hands of the hero of the "Jerusalem Delivered." Another enemy cut off his right hand with a sword. He fixed his glassy eye upon the maimed limb, and his spirit passed away, as he murmured, "It is the hand with which I swore fidelity to Henry my emperor."*

On the same day in which Henry was freed from this enemy, his troops defeated the army of the Countess Matilda in Italy. The fall of Rodolph was regarded as a judgment against the rebels; and the partisans of Henry everywhere rapidly increased in numbers. Leaving Otho to take what measures he pleased, the emperor crossed the Alps and advanced to Rome. Three times, in three successive years, he besieged the holy city. Bribery at length opened the gates to him, and Gregory was obliged to seek temporary safety in St. Angelo. In the great church of the Lateran Clement III. was formally consecrated; and then, as the successor of Peter, he placed the crown of Germany and of Italy on the brows of Henry and of Bertha, as they knelt before him. In a few hours the castle of St. Angelo would have been compelled to surrender by famine or assault, and the aged pontiff would have been at the mercy of his enemy. But the wisdom which had united to the Holy See the arms of the Norman conquerors of Southern Italy, now met with its reward. Far away, attempting the conquest of the eastern capital and empire, Robert Guiscard had been unable to aid his suzerain in the struggle with the Germans; but he returned in time to rescue him in his present extremity. The Norman battle-axe, the holy cross, and the Damascene scimitar, marked the component parts of the host which had come to encounter Henry, who hastily retreated out of Italy. But Gregory witnessed the destruction of two-thirds of the holy city by firebrands hurled by his allies. Plunder, lust, and carnage, were regarded by both the Northmen and the Saracens, as the proper reward for their services. Every convent was violated and every altar profaned by their sacrilegious hands; and the darkness of night was dispelled by the glare of the burning city, that they might the more effectually prosecute their work. Gregory fled from the sight to the castle of Salerno, where he died. During his illness he continually hurled forth anathemas against Henry and all his adherents; and as his unconquered spirit left its aged and worn-out tenement, he exclaimed; "I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile."

Little respite was produced for Henry by the death of his great antagonist. The cardinals chose Victor III. for his successor; and during his short reign that pontiff gained many advantages over the imperialists. After him

* Kohlrausch. Edinburgh Review.

came Urban II., the friend and pupil of Gregory. He announced, at the time of his accession, his intention of proceeding in the path of his old master. He again excommunicated the emperor, the antipope, and their adherents. He negotiated a marriage between Guelph, son to the Duke of Bavaria, and the Countess Matilda; and from this union the reigning family of England traces its descent.* Strenuously did this new ally and the popes continue the contest for ecclesiastical independence. They raised enemies to Henry in the bosom of his family, supported his sons in unnatural rebellions, and drew on him the fanatical hostility of the leaders of the first crusade, in their passage through Italy. For twenty years the emperor was persecuted by the unrelenting hatred of the pontiffs—wearied with incessant hostilities, and loaded with anguish by the infamous revolt of his children. He was finally forced to abdicate by his second son, Henry, and died, in old age and misery, broken-hearted and destitute, 1106.

Both Pope Pascal II., who had remorselessly instigated Henry V. to criminal violence towards his father, and the young emperor himself, who had unnaturally upheld the cause of the church against his parent, reaped the first fruits of their iniquity. Pascal was betrayed and imprisoned by the prince who had been his guilty confederate; and Henry, on his part, was long troubled, and finally humiliated by the ecclesiastical power for whose alliance he had violated every filial duty.† Though he had revolted from his father before his death, Henry now acted according to his principles; and in defiance of the papal laws, he still continued to impart the investiture with ring and staff—a right which, as he informed the pope, his ancestors, since Charles the Great, had legitimately exercised for three centuries, under sixty-three popes.‡ For more than fifteen years of his reign he was arrayed in open opposition to the church, in this struggle for ecclesiastical investiture; and successive popes still maintained against him a strenuous opposition to this prerogative. As he was stronger in the support of his German vassals than his father had been, and knew how to combine cunning and hypocrisy with force, the pontiffs were never able to proceed to similar extremities with him; and a long and injurious contest was protracted without any decisive success. At length, in the pontificate of Calixtus II., both parties had become utterly exhausted and weary of this ruinous struggle; and a treaty was concluded at Worms which set at rest the question of ecclesiastical investiture, A. D. 1122.§ Each yielded to the other. The emperor permitted the free choice of bishops, and gave up the investiture with the ring and staff, as symbols of spiritual jurisdiction; but for concession on the other hand, the election was to take place in the presence of the king or of his plenipotentiary, and he was to decide in doubtful cases, or in any disagreement of the electors, and lastly, confer fiefs of temporal possessions with his sceptre. The spiritual consecration of bishops was to take

* Taylor.

† Procter's Italy.

‡ Kohlrausch.

§ Procter's Italy.

place in Germany, after the investiture with the sceptre; but in Italy it was to precede it. After the records were publicly read, the legate of the pope gave to the emperor the kiss of peace, and afterwards the communion; and all separated, as the records say, with infinite pleasure.

The remainder of the reign of Henry V. was not disturbed by further dissensions with the church. He died childless, in 1125, at Utrecht, in the forty-fourth year of his age. He did not acquire the love of his contemporaries; he was despotic, severe, and often cruel. Yet he possessed many great qualities—activity, boldness, perseverance in misfortune, and a noble-minded disposition. The maintenance of the imperial dignity against every enemy, appeared to be the chief object of his life. He was buried at Spire, in the tomb of his ancestors.*



HENRY V.

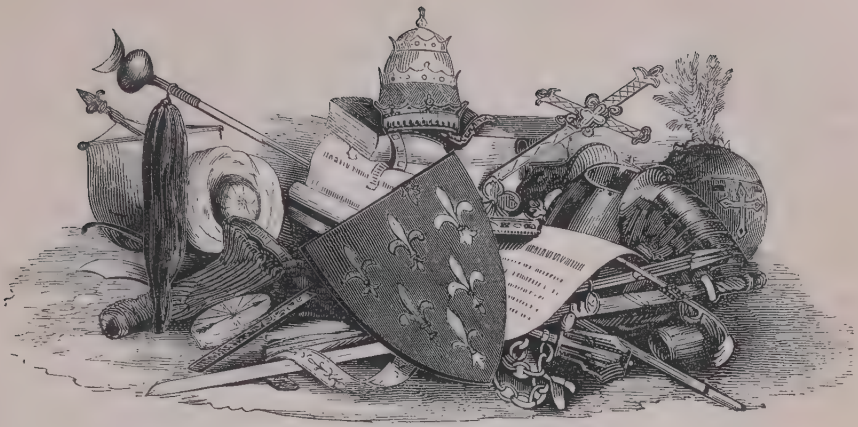
Under the rule of Honorius II., the successor of Calixtus, the monk St. Malachi brought the church of Ireland under papal supremacy; and the revolted Normans, in Southern Italy, were forcibly held to their allegiance. Innocent and Anacletus were each inaugurated as the successor of Calixtus. Anacletus died, and his party elected another antipope, who, however, submitted to Innocent. This pope, with his successors, Celestine II., Lucius II., and Eugenius III., were deterred from encroaching on the rights of kings and emperors by the necessity they were under of defending their domestic power against the assaults of the politicians, the followers of Arnold of Brescia. The most accomplished scholar, the best logician, the most popular lecturer on rhetoric in the age of Innocent II., was Abelard, a monk of the order of St. Benedict. Though unable to break the bonds of scholastic philosophy, he gave to the spirit of inquiry an impulse which produced beneficial effects in a later age. His Essay on the Trinity procured for him the hatred of the monks, who besought St. Bernard to accuse him of teaching heretical opinions. Bernard refused, for a long time, to prosecute a man whom he esteemed; but finally yielded to the remonstrances of his friends—laid the doctrines of Abelard before the council of Sens, in 1140—had them condemned, and obtained an order for his imprisonment. Abelard appealed to the pope, published his defence, and went to Rome. Passing through Clugni, he visited the abbot, Peter the Venerable.

* Kohlrausch.

A reconciliation between him and his enemies was effected by this enlightened divine ; but Abelard resolved to end his days in retirement, and consumed his strength in severe monastic discipline. He bequeathed his cause to Arnold of Brescia, and other faithful disciples, who strove to emancipate knowledge, and liberate the mind of man from the solitude of the cloister and the thralldom of superstition. Pure theology distinguished the opinions of Abelard ; but Arnold abandoned his master's mysticism, and endeavoured to reform the church and the government. The sanctity of the clerical profession, in his view, was inconsistent with the possession of power and wealth ; and such was the influence which Arnold obtained by his preaching in Germany and Italy, that he was invited to Rome to revive the republic. Under the direction of "the politicians," Rome set the example of resistance to papal usurpations. For a time Italy, and even all Europe, followed the example ; superstition and ignorance thus ceasing to pour wealth into the Roman exchequer, the Italians found their profits thereby decreased, and they changed from opponents to upholders of the delusion, on condition of sharing in the profits.

While the Emperors Henry IV. and Henry V. thus warmly contested the pretensions of the Holy See, hundreds of thousands of Christians, summoned by the voice of the Church, and excited by their own religious enthusiasm, abandoned their homes, and assembled together to march to Palestine, there to recover and secure from the power of the infidels the tomb of the Saviour. Such a war had been planned by Gregory VII., but the occurrences we have related diverted his attention from the East, and prevented any attempt at the formation of a general league of the Christian princes against Mohammedanism. Indeed, insuperable obstacles to such a scheme were presented by the difficulty of communicating with the powers of Europe and the necessity of securing the assent not only of the monarchs, but of their principal vassals. An unforeseen event supplied Pope Urban with a much better means of organizing Europe against the East ; and after much toil and bloodshed, Jerusalem was wrested from the hands of the Turks, and a Christian kingdom established in Palestine. The history of the wars for the possession of the holy sepulchre will be found in the succeeding chapter.





CHAPTER VI.

The Times of the Crusades.



THE Crusades have been made the subject of much misrepresentation. In treating of them writers are apt to regard this great movement of the people of Europe against those of Western Asia, as the mere effect of popular delusion—a mad enterprise, without intelligent direction or useful objects. Such a conclusion is not warranted by a temperate review of the facts as recorded by contemporary historians. It should be remembered that at the period when the Crusades commenced, Christianity, which since the fall of the Western Empire had with difficulty maintained its ground, amidst the rude barbarians who had become the possessors of Europe, found its very existence menaced by the increasing power of the followers of Mohammed. The intelligent pontiff to whom the direction of ecclesiastical affairs was then intrusted, saw the danger, and seized upon a favourable occasion for striking a blow at Islamism in its own strongholds, the moral effect of which was felt for many succeeding ages.

It is true, that in the prosecution of what were termed the Holy Wars, many things occurred which afford evidence of folly and wickedness, such as stain almost every page of the world's history; but these wars also abounded

with examples of noble heroism, piety, and self-sacrifice, such as we may vainly seek in the records of other military expeditions.

In our account of the Crusades, we must adopt the statements of those historians who are regarded as impartial; but at the same time, we entreat the reader to remember, that while recording the worst excesses of the crusaders, we give the better part of them due credit for their obedience to a noble sentiment of religion; and we acknowledge, with gratitude, that the Christian world owes to these devoted soldiers of the Cross, many of the choicest blessings which it now enjoys.

The immediate occasion which brought the Christian and Mohammedan powers into collision, was the manner in which the Turks, possessing Jerusalem, outraged the Christian feeling of veneration for the holy places which had witnessed the actions and sufferings of the Saviour. This feeling, entertained by the early Christians, had been augmented when the Roman empire became Christian. The Emperor Constantine caused a temple to be erected over the holy sepulchre; and his mother Helena made a pilgrimage thither, during which she found what was reputed to be the cross on which our Lord expired. The number of those who followed her example annually increased; and every great town soon contained houses of accommodation for pilgrims, founded expressly for that purpose by the pious and wealthy; and even those engaged in the ravages of war, venerated and protected the superior sanctity which assumed the pilgrim's frock. Honour and consideration at home rewarded the wanderer on his return; crowds came to the church, where, according to custom, he publicly gave thanks to God for the protection which had been granted to him, and gave to the priest, to be deposited on the altar, a branch of *palm*, plucked in the garden of Abraham at Jericho. Known henceforth as a *palmer*, the narration of the toils he had undergone, and the holy sights he had witnessed, procured for him universal admiration; and when any of his neighbours, moved by religious feelings, determined to follow his example, the whole community escorted him to the bounds of the parish; the priest clothed him with the pilgrim's frock, the scarf, from which hung the wallet, and the consecrated staff; and blessings and prayers for his safe return were uttered by all the multitude. The desire of possessing relics being universal, many pilgrims assumed a mercantile character, in order to gratify it; and thus wealth was brought into the East. The politic rulers protected visitors whose arrival brought them profit; and as Jerusalem had been the seat of prophets, whose inspiration both Christians and Mohammedans acknowledge, they found no difficulty in sympathizing with the veneration entertained for it by the pilgrims.

An opinion that the end of the world was at hand, caused the number of pilgrimages to increase very rapidly, about the beginning of the eleventh century; and many persons sold their estates and migrated to the Holy Land to await the coming of the Lord.

Hitherto, the dangers of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land had been only those of the way ; none had awaited them at Jerusalem. But when the Turks, under Tutush, the brother of Malek Shah, conquered Syria to the borders of Egypt, a rugged chief, named Orthok, received the government of Jerusalem and the surrounding district. Rude, impolitic, and fanatical, he suffered his followers to offer insults to the pious palmers, to beat the priests and profane the altar, the sacred vessels, and the images. The fees for entrance which the Saracens had charged, they exacted with far greater rigour ; and thousands of poor pilgrims lay about the gates unable to obtain admission. When they returned home, the palmers filled all Europe with tales of the many insults and miseries they had endured in their visit to the tomb of the Saviour.*

Europe was at length effectually awakened to the importance of delivering the Holy City, by a simple pilgrim, who, to the fervour of an apostle, joined the courage of a martyr. Peter, a native of Amiens, in Picardy, had early entered upon a military life ; but he soon abandoned the profession of arms and became a recluse. He retired to a hermitage in the south of France, and there gained the reputation of a saint by his religious austerities. Leaving this retreat, he followed into Palestine the crowd of Christians who went to visit the holy places. His emotions, at the sight of Jerusalem, were far greater than those of any of his fellow-travellers. Having followed them to Calvary, and to the holy sepulchre, he sought the Patriarch of Jerusalem.



PETER THE HERMIT AND THE PATRIARCH OF JERUSALEM.

The snow-white head of Simeon, his venerable figure, and above all, the persecution he had suffered, merited for him all the confidence of the enthusiastic Peter. They wept together over the wrongs of the Christians. The patriarch resolved to supplicate, by letter, the assistance of the pope and the princes of Europe ; the hermit was to be the interpreter of the Christians of the East, and to arm the West for their deliverance. Charged with the letters of the patriarch, Peter hastened to throw himself at the feet of Pope Urban II. The pontiff pronounced him a prophet, applauded his design, and furnished him with additional credentials to the temporal princes of Europe.

* Keightley. Mills's History of the Crusades.

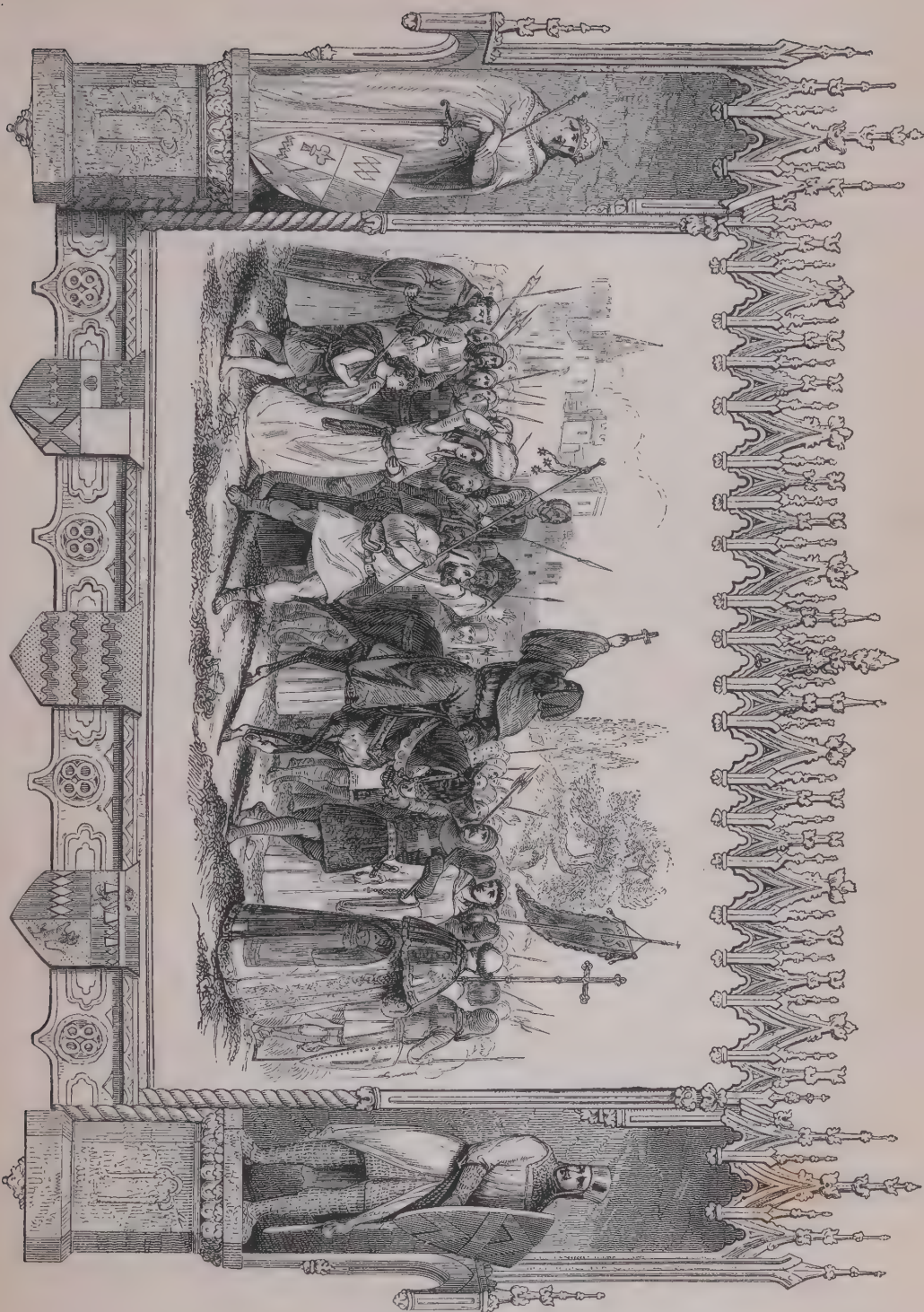
Peter traversed the greater part of Europe, relating everywhere the miseries of the faithful in Palestine, and everywhere exciting for them the pity of their brethren of the west. He had succeeded in filling Western Europe with the spirit of the crusades, when Urban convoked the council of Clermont in Auvergne.

The pontiff crossed the Alps to attend this council, in the year 1095. The number of those who came to Clermont was immense. Thirteen archbishops, two hundred and twenty-five bishops, an equal number of abbots, with several thousand cavaliers and nobles, and an innumerable crowd of men and women of every condition, came thither in the heart of a most rigorous winter, impatient to hear the declaration of the Holy War; Clermont and the towns and villages near it would not suffice to hold the concourse; many were obliged to pitch tents in the open fields.

Peter recounted to the masses here collected what he had already published in their houses and castles; he excited their imagination by pathetic pictures of the prodigious outrages and persecutions inflicted by the Mussulmans upon the faithful, who lived near holy places, and upon the pilgrims who visited them. Then Urban himself took up the argument. He called upon all Christians to arm to avenge the cause of Jesus Christ. "Let every one deny himself, and take on him the cross of Christ, that he may gain Christ; let no Christian contend any more against another, that Christianity itself may not perish, but rather be spread and advanced; let bloodshed, enmity, and oppression cease; let every one show hardihood and courage, not where they will bring on him a curse, but where they will gain him the forgiveness of sins and the crown of martyrdom. Let no one fear danger, for the might of the foe will be feeble before him who fighteth for the Lord; let no one fear want, for he who wins the Lord is abundantly rich; let no one be stayed at home by the tears of those he is leaving behind, for the grace of the Lord will protect them also." One cry, "God wills it!" burst forth from the lips of the whole assembly. Urban motioned them to silence and continued: "The words of the Scripture are now fulfilled: 'Where but two or three are gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them;' for nothing but the influence of the Lord produces the like zeal in you all, and makes the same word be spoken by each. *Let this word be your war-cry in every conflict into which you enter for the faith of Christ; the cross be your sign for strength and humility.* The curse of the Holy See shall fall upon every one who seeks to impede this great enterprise; but its support in the name of the Lord shall smoothen your path, and guide you in all your ways."* The clergy and the laity, lords and humble vassals, the

* It will be perceived by attentively considering these exhortations, that if to Peter belongs the honour of awakening the crusading spirit, the credit is not less due to Urban of concentrating this spirit, and directing it to its proper object, the preservation of Christianity

PETER THE HERMIT LEADING THE FIRST CRUSADERS.



free and the serf, monks, peasants, burghers, soldiers, all hurried to give their names to the holy leader, and to enrol themselves for the great invasion. Urban excused himself from conducting them to the East, on account of the unfriendly relations existing between him and the emperor; all the multitude cast themselves on the ground, one of the cardinals read a general confession in their names, and the pope bestowed on them full absolution. Each pilgrim affixed a red cross to the right shoulder of his garment, and they thus gave themselves the name of the crossed (*croisés*), and to the Holy War that of the Crusade.

While the princes and the lords returned to their castles, and prepared themselves for the Holy War, the multitude whom the preaching of Peter had assembled around him, followed him, or rather pushed him before them, to the East. A single knight, Walter the Pennyless, served as a leader for this tumultuous band, who, in default of the manna which they had expected from Heaven, actually subsisted on their march by demanding alms. In France and in Germany the charity of the faithful came to their succour; but arrived in the lands of Hungary and Bulgaria, their circumstances were altered. Kalmany or Carloman, King of Hungary, granted them a free passage through his territories, and a market; and the advanced body, under Walter, passed on unharmed to Bulgaria. Their misconduct at Belgrade, which they imprudently besieged, procured for them redoubtable enemies, who defeated them and forced Walter to throw himself on the protection of the Bulgarian prince, who sent them on to Constantinople. The main body followed them, under the direction of Peter himself. Kalmany would have treated them as he had Walter; but fear of aggressions on the part of the pilgrims, and of robberies on the part of the inhabitants, produced continual suspicions, and finally led to hostilities, in which the Hermit lost the fourth part of his followers. With thirty thousand men, he finally effected a junction with Walter the Pennyless, beneath the walls of the imperial city.

The Emperor Alexis Comnenus was curious to see the extraordinary man who had shaken all the West by his eloquence. He admitted Peter the Hermit to a public audience, listened to the story of his mission and his mishaps, praised his zeal, and, as he had nothing to fear from the ambition of a hermit, heaped presents upon him. He distributed to the impoverished army money and provisions, and counselled their leaders to wait, before commencing the war, for the arrival of the princes and the illustrious captains who had taken the cross. But the ardour of the crusaders was renewed with a supply of food, and, rejecting the well meant advice of the emperor, they crossed the Bosphorus.

against the increasing power of the Mohammedans. All who are familiar with the history of Eastern Europe, know that imminent danger from this source never ceased from the days of Charles Martel till the hour when the sword of John Sobieski saved Vienna from the invading Turks.

Dissensions arose between the Germans and Lombards, and the French; and the former chose Reginald for their leader, established a separate camp, and commenced plundering the country. Peter went back to Constantinople to obtain supplies. During his absence, the French gained some advantages over the Turks in Nicæa; and Reginald, emulous of their fame, led forth the Germans to seek for booty and glory. Four miles from Nicæa they took a castle, and resolved to fortify themselves in it and await there the arrival of the other crusaders. But they suddenly found themselves besieged, and held out eight days without water. Reginald then made a secret treaty, abjured his faith, and, with a few followers, went over to the enemy. The rest of the garrison were either slain or led into captivity.

The army marched out for the purpose of revenging their brethren; but the Turks attacked them unexpectedly, and all but three thousand perished. These the emperor rescued and brought back to Constantinople, where they determined to await the arrival of their companions.

In the countries about the Rhine, a priest, named Gottschalk, assembled fifteen thousand pilgrims, and led them into Hungary. As they lived by plunder, they were soon cut to pieces by the brave King Carloman. The same fate rewarded the like conduct of a body under the command of a lay brother called Volkmar.

Eight months after the Council of Clermont, the badge of the cross was assumed by Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, who had mortgaged his paternal domain of Bouillon, in order that he might be able to make a suitable appearance among the Christian chiefs. At the head of eighty thousand men, he commenced the grand movement which was to transport into Asia all those whom Europe then counted the most valiant cavaliers. In the middle of August, 1096, Godfrey set out from the Rhine. He passed unharmed through the territories of King Carloman, his brother Baldwin remaining with his family as hostages in the camp of the Hungarian king. At the frontiers, Carloman, who had followed the crusaders at a respectful distance, returned the duke his thanks, restored the hostages, and distributed presents among the chiefs. Their strict discipline procured for the soldiers of Godfrey the favour of Alexis, and they marched without impediment to Philippopolis.

The Duke of Vermandois left France with a numerous band of crusaders. He received the benediction of Urban at Lucca, passed through Rome, and directed his course to Bari. Sailing from this port he was shipwrecked, near Dyrrachium, and subsequently conducted by Prince John, the Emperor Alexis's nephew, to Constantinople. Here Hugh of Vermandois remained in a sort of honourable captivity, treated with kindness, but suspected of hostile intentions; and allaying the emperor's fear by taking the oath of fealty.

Under these circumstances, Hugh complained of his detention to the pious Godfrey. His message reached Godfrey at Philippopolis, and envoys were immediately sent to Constantinople to demand of the emperor the freedom of the

French warrior. Alexis declined ; Godfrey gave the rein to his troops, and in a few days the region round Adrianople was made a desert. Two Franks came to say that the pilgrims were at liberty ; discipline resumed her sway, and the army marched to the capital. Alexis commenced a disgusting train of fraudulent negotiations, by which Godfrey and the other leaders were induced to swear fealty to him as the natural lord of the country they were about to invade. Though he had tried to persuade Godfrey to drive Alexis from the throne, Bohemond himself joined in the oath of allegiance. He also pledged himself that his bold nephew, Tancred, should do the same ; and the court of Flanders having also submitted, the fears of the emperor were relieved.

Raymond of Toulouse and Archbishop Adhemar, having joined their forces, marched from Provence, in 1096. Godfrey, Bohemond, and the other chiefs were present at the meeting between the emperor and the haughty crusader, when Raymond refused to take the oath of fealty, and Alexis was obliged to be content with the promise that he would never commence or aid any hostilities against the emperor.

Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, Stephen of Albemarle, and others, at length arrived, at the head of the last army of pilgrims. After much hesitation, the leaders took the oath to Alexis, and followed the other bodies into Asia, to the great joy of the emperor and his subjects. The miserable remnant of the Hermit's followers were found at Nicomedia ; and while Peter recounted the evils which their cupidity had brought upon them, he rejoiced to witness the numbers of the armies which his eloquence had summoned to the field. By the lowest computation, the host marshalled on the plains of the Bosphorus numbered six hundred thousand souls, of whom three hundred thousand were well appointed infantry, and one hundred thousand mounted knights.

The town of Nicæa, or Nice, the ancient capital of Bithynia, and the first town of importance in the Turkish territory, was speedily invested. The Seljukian, Kiliç Arslan, had supplied it with a strong garrison, and was posted in its vicinity with his army. The failure of a fierce attack upon the crusaders convinced him of his inferiority, and he moved off to await the issue of the siege. The assaults were vigorous, but the heroic courage of the defenders withstood them. After seven toilsome weeks, the besiegers procured from Alexis an order for the transportation of his fleet from Kibotus overland to the lake, by which provisions and intelligence had been supplied to the garrison. Having by this means obtained the command of the lake, the crusaders marched with redoubled fury to assault the walls. The Turks defended themselves with valour and success. Many a brave pilgrim was stretched lifeless on the earth by their darts, arrows, and stones ; they poured boiling oil, melted pitch and fat from the walls, applied fire to the battering rams and other machines, and finally forced the assailants to retire to their camp. But when a cunning Lombard succeeded in undermining and throwing down the principal tower, and it became

apparent that the town must soon be captured, Manuel Butumites, the agent for Alexis, made overtures to the besieged, and by a skilfully conducted negotiation secured the possession of the city to the emperor, and indemnity from plunder to the inhabitants. Alexis treated the Turks kindly, lest at some future time, when the crusaders were not there to protect him, he might be made to feel the effects of their vengeance; to the chief crusaders he promised large presents, and to the knights and poor pilgrims he sent money and provisions; but these were regarded as a poor compensation for the rich booty they had expected, and they were with difficulty withheld from assaulting the city anew.*

With invincible industry and courage, the crusaders next set out upon the long and difficult journey to Syria. The march was made in two columns, one headed by Bohemond, the other by Godfrey. Kilij Arslan having collected a great army for the defence of his territory, took advantage of the separation of the crusaders to attack the troops under Bohemond at Dorylæum. That leader sent a messenger to inform Godfrey of the attack, and then prepared to repel it; but he met with indifferent success until the arrival of a large reinforcement from the other army. The Mussulmans fled, leaving their camp to the victors. Robert of Paris and four thousand of the holy warriors fell in the action; the Turks lost but three thousand men. The crusaders, however, obtained immense plunder from the bodies of the three thousand slain and the tents which the enemy had left. They were now rich.

After this battle the Turks ceased to oppose the progress of the Christians by force, preferring to render the country untenable, by laying it waste, and destroying provisions and forage. The rapidity of the march, however, rendered this attempt fruitless; and the crusaders were speedily encamped before Antioch. The siege of this city commenced at the beginning of winter and lasted seven months, during which time there was much discouragement among the crusaders; and Stephen, Count of Blois, publicly exposed his fears by retiring with four thousand men to Alexandretta. This city, however, was finally captured, through the treachery of a certain Pyrrhus, who kept one of the principal towers.

In personal combat, several chiefs of the crusaders signalized their bravery during this siege. Godfrey of Bouillon, Tancred, Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Flanders, and Robert of Normandy, all receive unqualified praise from the pens of the chroniclers. The spirit in which the greater part of the chiefs waged the war is well illustrated by an anecdote told of the last-mentioned chief. A bold Saracen warrior advanced to attack him; with one blow of his sword he cleft the scull of the infidel from the crown to the shoulders. One part falling to the ground struck his foot. "I devote thy unpure soul," said the pious soldier, "to the punishments of hell." At the bridge of Antioch

* Keightley.

a colossal Turk presented himself in the thickest of the fight, and with his first stroke cut in pieces the buckler of Godfrey. The Christian hero arose in his stirrups, and, darting on his adversary, gave him such a blow that he cut him in two pieces. The upper part of the body fell to the earth; but so firmly did the infidel sit, that his lower limbs remained in the saddle, and the horse carried them into the town. They were speedily made sensible of the importance of this oversight, by the approach of Kerbogah with a powerful reinforcement. Fear seized upon them, and desertions thinned their ranks. William the Carpenter, William and Alberic of Grantmenil, and many of less note, basely fled over the walls, and after encountering every kind of hardship, joined Stephen, Count of Chartres, at Alexandretta. From their representations, Stephen supposed that the expedition must end in destruction, and therefore commenced his retreat to Europe. In Phrygia, he met Alexis, who was advancing to aid



ROBERT OF NORMANDY
SLAYING THE TURK.

his feudal subjects in the siege of Antioch with a combined army of Greek soldiers and crusaders newly arrived from Europe. The timid emperor gave up all for lost, and commenced his return to Constantinople, forcing the crusaders to accompany him. The news of the retreat of Alexis filled the starving defenders of Antioch with fear and despondency. To inspire the dispirited soldiers with fresh hope and enthusiasm, Raymond of Toulouse caused one Peter Barthelemy, a Lombard clerk, to affirm that St. Andrew had appeared to him in a vision, had carried him through the air to the church of St. Peter, and had shown him where was buried the very lance that had pierced the side of our Saviour on the cross. All day the soldiers relieved each other in vainly digging for the precious relic; but when night had come to favour the operations of mystery, Peter himself descended into the excavation and speedily declared that the sacred weapon was found. Raymond's chaplain seized and embraced it; and hope and fanatical courage immediately took the place of despair and terror. "They highly prized," says Fuller, "this military relic of Christ; as if, by wounding of him, it had got virtue to wound his enemies, and counted it a pawn of certain victories." Peter the Hermit was sent on an embassy to Kerbogah to propose to him a peace, a personal combat, or a general battle. "Choose," said the intrepid ambassador, "the bravest of thy army, and make them fight against a similar number of crusaders—or fight thyself against one of the Christian princes—or give the signal for a general battle—and thou shalt learn what thy enemies are, and thou wilt know who

is the God that we serve." The confidence of the pilgrim astonished Kerbogah and procured for him an indignant answer; but his companions so increased the wrath of the infidel chief, that nothing but their character as ambassadors saved them from destruction.

Finally, the day of battle, the day of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, dawned upon the impatient valour of the crusaders. The gates of Antioch were thrown open; and the army marched forth in twelve divisions, in honour of the twelve apostles. Adhemar, the pious bishop of Puy, headed the fourth division, the most honourable, because it carried the holy lance. He walked at its head, clothed in the robes of the pontiffs, and surrounded by the symbols of religion and war. The venerable prelate, pausing before the bridge of the Orontes, addressed a pathetic discourse to the soldiers of the Cross, blessed them, and promised them the succour and recompense of Heaven. All the army shouted their approbation and assent. A part of the clergy advanced in the suite of the legate and chanted a martial hymn. The banks of the Orontes and the neighbouring mountains seemed to respond to these invocations, and resounded with the enthusiastic war-cry of the invaders, "God wills it! God wills it!" The men who had lately awaited death in mute discouragement, rushed to the combat with the holy confidence of martyrs. In the heat of the action, when victory appeared about to declare for the enemy, three human figures, clad in white armour, and riding on white horses, appeared on the summit of the neighbouring hills. Adhemar called on the fainting troops to behold the aid which God had sent to them according to his promise. The cry of "God wills it!" was mingled with those of "St. George!" "St. Maurice!" and "St. Theodore!" the crusaders threw themselves with redoubled fury on the astonished infidels; and before an hour had elapsed, nay, before the supernatural squadron had come to their aid, the superb army of the haughty Kerbogah was annihilated.

So much booty was obtained by this glorious victory, that every one of the crusaders became richer than he was when he set out from home. The citadel of Antioch now surrendered; and its governor and three hundred of his troops embraced the Christian faith, to the great joy of the crusaders. Bohemond received possession of the city as a reward for his services, and the army rested for a while from their labours. Wars of ambition next engaged the princes, and delayed the consummation of the original undertaking. Bohemond and Raymond continued their jealousy; and the latter began to assume a tone of superiority, from the fact of his being the keeper of the holy lance. Bohemond had ever been a sceptic on the subject, and he had widely promulgated his opinions. Some of his emissaries urged the warriors to demand of Peter Barthelemy the proof of his powers by the fiery ordeal, to which he had so confidently offered to submit the truth of his assertions. The wretched fanatic, having prepared himself by fasting and prayer, rushed into the flames, and was consumed. The attempts which Raymond afterwards made to support his re-



ADHEMAR BLESSING THE CRUSADERS.

putation for spiritual superiority by new miracles totally failed; and the treachery which his conduct sometimes evinced, greatly lessened his authority.

The people became anxious for the completion of their pilgrimage, and the chiefs laid aside the thoughts of war for individual ambition, to lead the victorious crusaders to the Holy City. At length the rising sun discovered to their admiring gaze the turrets of the City of David. Religious frenzy invaded every soul. The cry of "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!" burst from every lip. They threw themselves on their knees, prostrated themselves in the dust, and kissed with pious reverence the earth which the feet of the Saviour of the World had pressed. They cried aloud for joy, they wept, they beat their breasts, and renewed in a holy transport the oath to free Jerusalem from the impious yoke of the Mussulmans. Nor was this fiery enthusiasm confined to the lower orders of the army; it seized on the chiefs themselves. "All," says Fuller, "had much ado to manage so great a gladness." They rushed to the assault; but their zeal would not serve for scaling-ladders, and they were repulsed.

At the end of a month, machines had been constructed by the Genoese, and the courage of the besiegers, which had sunk under the burning sun, was again revived. They made the tour of the city, headed by the clergy, with bare feet, who pointed out to them and recalled to their remembrance every holy place. They were all enthusiasm, and the insults hurled at them from the walls by the infidels inflamed them the more. On the 14th of July, 1099, Godfrey led them to the attack. Every man promised himself victory or death; but all their zeal and courage failed to awe the resolute defenders. The battle raged furiously until it was ended by night. Watching and alarm occupied both parties until the day dawned, and hostilities were recommenced. Noon had arrived, the Christians were almost exhausted, the Turks had commenced the shouts of victory, and even the most courageous of the crusaders thought that Heaven had deserted them. When all seemed to be lost, they saw a cavalier, clothed in shining armour, appear on the top of the Mount of Olives, and give them the signal of a renewed charge by waving his glittering buckler.

Godfrey of Bouillon was the first to notice the heavenly messenger. "St. George has come to the succour of the Christians!" he cried; and a myriad of defenders could not have saved the holy city from the hands of his impetuous followers. In an hour, Godfrey's tower rested against the inner wall; chiefs and soldiers precipitated themselves together upon it, and the banner of the cross streamed from the walls. Tancred and the two Roberts forced the defences on their side, and Raymond entered by scaling the walls. Twenty-three thousand helpless Saracens paid with their lives the penalty of having spilt Christian blood, and insulted the soldiers of the cross. Godfrey himself set the example; and so great was the carnage that "in the porch and temple of Solomon (the mosque of Omar) the crusaders rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses." This work accomplished, Godfrey turned his attention to others of less questionable virtue. Laying aside his armour, he clothed him-



CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM.

self in a linen mantle, and with bare head and naked feet, followed by the whole army, proceeded to throw himself at the door of the holy sepulchre, and render adoration to the Founder of Christianity. The ghost of the dead Adhemar came with the spirits of all who had fallen on the march from Europe to Jerusalem, to share in the holy joy of the survivors at the rescue of the Temple from the possession of the infidels. Now was the cup of triumph of Peter the Hermit filled. "It was remembered that he had taken charge of letters from the patriarch to the princes of Europe; it was acknowledged that he had excited their piety, and inflamed their zeal; and the multitude fell at his feet in gratitude for his faithful discharge of his trust, praising God, who was glorified in his servant."*

Godfrey of Bouillon was born in the village of Beryg, near Nivelles, in the year 1060. He was the son of Eustace II., Count of Boulogne, and of Ida, daughter of Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Bas-Lorraine. On the female side he was descended from Charlemagne. We have seen, in a former chapter, how he was distinguished in the War of the Investitures as a champion of the emperor; and we find the promise there given of his abilities, fully borne out during the crusade. Taking the cross soon after the adjournment of the

* Mills.

Council of Clermont, he marched at the head of the first body of *disciplined* crusaders to Constantinople, where the Emperor Alexis adopted him as his son. The battle of Nice, the taking of Antioch, the private wars which immediately followed that achievement, and the siege and capture of Jerusalem, had all combined to assign to him the first rank among the Christian warriors; and when it was determined to retain the advantage gained by the expedition by again erecting in the Holy City the throne of David, the electors decreed, as to the most worthy, this throne to Godfrey of Bouillon. Each prince knew the rank and family of the others, but they could only judge of their private characters by the testimony of their servants. The domestics of Godfrey asserted that his only fault was this, "that when matins were done, he would stay so long in the church, to know of the priests the meaning of every image and picture, that dinner at home was spoiled by his long tarrying. All admired hereat, that this man's worst vice should be so great a virtue, and they unanimously chose him for their king. He accepted the place, but refused the solemnity thereof, and would not wear a crown of gold there, where the Saviour of mankind had worn a crown of thorns."*

Godfrey did not long survive the great fatigues of the first crusade. He expired the 18th of July, 1100, one year and three days after the taking of Jerusalem. They buried his remains with all the pomp of the religious ceremony, within the bounds of Calvary, and near the sepulchre of Jesus Christ, which he had delivered by his valour. His address in combat, and the extraordinary force of his blows, made him the admiration of heroes. To the bravery and virtue of a true knight, he joined the simplicity of a cenobite. The estimation in which he was held by the army, may be known from the universal lamentation which prevailed when he met with a disaster in Asia Minor. When alone in the dense part of a forest, the duke heard the cries of a poor pilgrim, who had been attacked by a bear, whilst cutting wood. Godfrey hastened to his relief, when the bear quitted his victim to attack his new enemy. He seized the duke by the cloak and dragged him to the ground. His sword being entangled between his legs, Godfrey wounded himself severely in the thigh in attempting to draw it. He continued the fight, however, until the noise brought others to the spot. A knight named Hasequin despatched the monster with his sword, and the almost exhausted duke was borne to the camp, where the loss of a battle would scarcely have spread more consternation than the unhappy spectacle he afforded to the eyes of the Christians.

While at Antiochetta, before setting out for Antioch, Godfrey had sent forward his brother Baldwin and the gallant Tancred to explore the country and measure their swords with the Moslems. Tancred with his division captured the city of Tarsus; but Baldwin forced him to give it up on the score of his inferiority. Tancred then retired from the city. Soon after, three hun-

* Fuller's Holy War.



GODFREY'S CONTEST WITH THE BEAR.

dred soldiers of Bohemond, for whom Tancred had held the town, came to the gates, and craved food and shelter. Baldwin refused them both; but the people, more compassionate, lowered them provisions from the walls, and they encamped upon the ground. In the night, the Turks came upon them, and all fell victims to the inhumanity and selfishness of Baldwin. That chief soon after received a considerable accession to his numbers, out of a fleet of pirates from Flanders, Holland, and Friesland, who had ceased to plunder their fellow-Christians, and assumed the cross. Baldwin next advanced to Mamistra, which Tancred had captured and plundered. The Norman chief still smarted under the insult he had received at Tarsus, and when the soldiers of Baldwin began to plunder his new subjects, he interfered to prevent the injustice. His troops shared in his angry feelings, and the dispute was soon changed to a bloody combat. Richard of Salerno, who originated the fight, lost his life. His fall, considered as a judgment for his impiety, brought his fellows to see the folly of their conduct, and they made peace.

Learning that Godfrey was sick from the wound he had given himself in his contest with the bear, Baldwin hastened back to the main army, that he might succeed to his power in case of his death. But he found Godfrey re-

covered from his wound; and he received so much censure from all for his treatment of the Norman pilgrims at Tarsus, that he became incensed, and resolved to leave the main army, and seek a new field for his ambition. At the suggestions of Pancratius, an Armenian Christian, he led a body of his own followers towards the Euphrates, and became the lord of a considerable territory, of which the city of Edessa was the capital. Several cities acknowledged his authority, and obeyed governors of his appointment; and he entered upon the discharge of the duties of a sovereign with prudence and ability, and compromised the performance of his vow for the recovery of Jerusalem, by sending money and provisions to his brother.

Godfrey, however, when on his death-bed, expressed his desire that Baldwin should succeed him on the throne of Jerusalem. Arnulf, who had inherited the great wealth of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and brother to William the Conqueror, who had died on the crusade, joined his influence to that of the knights of the house of Bouillon, in favour of Baldwin. But Tancred, who had conquered one kingdom for Bohemond, and the greater part of another for Godfrey, desired that the crown of Jerusalem should also grace the brows of his uncle. Bishop Daimbert and others supported his cause, and sent messengers to Bohemond to come quickly to the Holy City. But Bohemond was already a captive in the hands of the Turks, having lost his liberty in attempting to extend his dominions into Armenia. An attempt to fix the regal dignity upon Raymond of Toulouse failed; and Baldwin, resigning Edessa to his relation, Baldwin du Bourg, came to take possession of the throne of Jerusalem. "As for that religious scruple," says Fuller, "which Godfrey made to wear a crown of gold where Christ wore one of thorns, Baldwin easily dispensed therewith. And surely in these things the mind is all; a crown might be refused with pride, and worn with humility."

Baldwin was immediately involved in a dispute with Tancred, who disregarded a summons to appear at Jerusalem and do homage for some territories which he had captured from the Mussulmans. The people of Antioch, however, summoned Tancred to take charge of his uncle's kingdom until he was released from captivity; and he delivered the contested places to Baldwin, upon condition that, in the event of his return, he might enjoy them in feudal tenure. Baldwin was an able ruler; and, under his guidance, the kingdom of Jerusalem rapidly acquired strength and extended its boundaries. The Mussulmans of Syria quailed beneath the frown of its king. Acre, Cesarea, Beritus and Sidon, all fell into his hands; but the Fatimite princes, supposing themselves to be beyond his reach, defied the power of the Christian king.

Baldwin marched his army into Egypt, and met with some success; but an old wound, which he had received in taking Ptolemais from the Syrians, broke out again, and caused his death. During his sickness, he endeavoured to animate the spirits of his friends, cautioned them to retire from Egypt, and recommended Baldwin du Bourg for his successor. He desired them not to

leave his body in Egypt, a subject for Moslem ridicule; and when they represented the impossibility of carrying a corpse at that season, he taught them how to embalm it. Fearing lest the enemy should acquire confidence on learning the king's death, the Christians dissembled their grief, and commenced a retreat to Jerusalem. They reached this city on Palm Sunday, as Baldwin du Bourg and his Edessenens were coming to celebrate the feast of Easter. These joined the melancholy train, and the body of the deceased king was borne on towards the sepulchre of his brother. According to an established custom, all the Christian people, headed by the patriarch, descended on Palm Sundays, in a procession, from the Mount of Olives, carrying palm-branches and singing canticles in celebration of the entry of Christ into Jerusalem. Whilst this procession traversed the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the coffin of Baldwin, carried by his companions, appeared suddenly in the midst of those who were chanting the hymns. A sudden, long, and mournful silence was followed by loud lamentations. All the people followed the funeral procession to Calvary, where the remains of Baldwin were deposited with great pomp, in a tomb of white marble, near the sepulchre of Godfrey. (A.D. 1118.)

Baldwin's remains were no sooner committed to the tomb than a council of the barons and prelates was assembled for the purpose of choosing a successor. Some urged the appointment of Eustace, the brother of the deceased sovereign; but that prince was in Europe. Joscelyn de Courtenay, once attached to the family of Baldwin du Bourg, had quarrelled with that ruler, and left his service for that of King Baldwin I. The council was not a little surprised, therefore, when suddenly rising, and setting aside the claims of Eustace, on account of the necessity of selecting a ruler who might take the sceptre at once into his hand, he urged the claims of his enemy, Baldwin du Bourg, as the near relative of the late king, and the most able, valiant, and wise of the Christian princes of the East. When the members of the council heard the enemy of Baldwin advance such sentiments, they hastened to acquiesce in them; Baldwin du Bourg was elected to the throne, and generously rewarded the disinterestedness of Joscelyn, by conferring upon him the whole of the principality of Edessa.

Baldwin II. reigned from 1118 to 1131; distinguished by the variety of the success attending his arms. Roger, regent of Antioch for young Bohemond, was captured in a rash engagement with the enemy; Baldwin marched to rescue him at the head of a small army, and gained a decided victory. But Balak, a petty king of the Turks, succeeded in carrying Joscelyn into captivity, and Baldwin, coming to deliver him, met with the same fate. Joscelyn, however, escaped from confinement, joined his arms with those of Eustace Grenier, the regent of Jerusalem, defeated Balak, and slew him with his own hands. He then captured and added Tyre to the dominions of Baldwin, who was released from captivity on condition of paying a hundred thousand michaelets. "But," says Fuller, "he paid the Turks with their own



ATTESTATION OF BALDWIN I. KING OF JERUSALEM.

money, or, which was as good coin, with the money of the Saracens, vanquishing Barsequen their captain, at Antioch, 1125: and not long after, he conquered Doldequin, another of their great commanders, at Damascus." He failed, however, to capture Damascus. Shortly before his death, which happened on the 22d of August, he renounced the world. He was buried in the tomb of his predecessors.

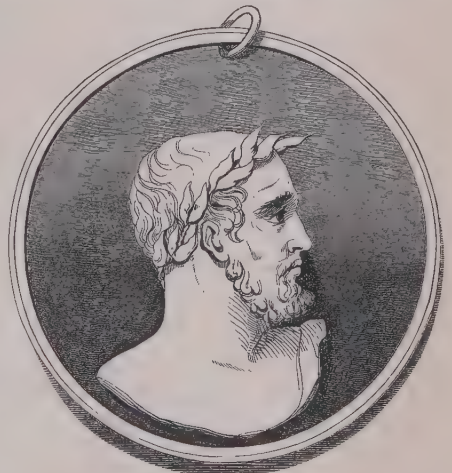
The second Baldwin was succeeded on the throne, A. D. 1131, by his son-in-law Fulco, or Fulk, Count of Anjou, a French cavalier, whom religion and restlessness drove to the Holy Land in the prime of his life. Baldwin sought a husband for his daughter, and Fulk was selected as the happy bridegroom, the envied heir to the throne. He reigned until 1144, and left the state nearly as he found it.

Baldwin III., the eldest son of the late king, succeeded him on the throne. He was at first placed under the authority of his mother, being but thirteen years old; but he early cast off her restraint, and swayed the sceptre alone. During his reign, the Saracens under Zenghi conquered the city of Edessa, and the Christians of the West prepared for a new crusade.

Meanwhile Raymond of Toulouse had been succeeded in his principality at Tortosa, by his son Bertrand, who added Tripoli to the other possessions of his father. Bertrand was followed by his son Pontius, a descendant by his mother's side from Eudes of Burgundy. When Tancred died, in the year 1112, he recommended his wife to bestow her hand upon Pontius; and after his decease, she complied with the recommendation. Pontius lost his life by the swords of the Mussulmans; and his successor, Raymond, was made a captive by them.

When the great Bohemond was a prisoner in the hands of the Armenian Prince Danischmend, the Emperor Alexis tried to obtain possession of his person by bribing Danischmend. But the Armenian preferred the alliance of Bohemond to that of Alexis, and the Prince of Antioch was allowed to resume the direction of his government. His faithful nephew had considerably enlarged his kingdom, but the hostility of the Greek emperor threatened its overthrow. Daimbert, flying from Jerusalem, came to Antioch, and resolved to continue his journey to Europe. Bohemond determined to accompany

him thither, and seek aid from the Western princes. He was kindly received by Philip, King of France, who gave him one of his daughters in marriage,



ALEXIS COMNENUS.

and betrothed another to the gallant Tancred. Five thousand horse, and forty thousand footmen followed him on his return to Antioch, and aided him in an open war with Alexis. The difficulties were finally arranged by a treaty between the two princes, and the greater part of Bohemond's army marched on to the Holy Land. Bohemond himself returned to Apulia, where he died the next year, 1118, just as he was about setting out on a journey for Antioch.



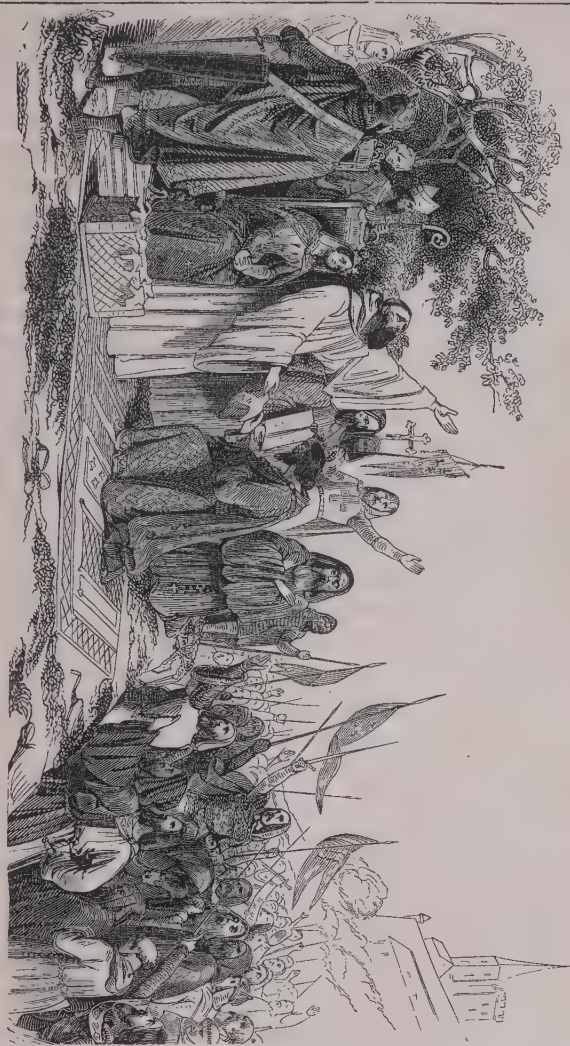
TANCRED, at his death, bequeathed the regency to his kinsman, Roger, son of Richard, Count of Capua, and Seneschal of Apulia. Roger died by the swords of the Saracens, in 1119, and Baldwin II. for a time held possession of the principality; but Bohemond the younger arriving from Italy, claimed and received from him his patrimony. Bohemond married Alice, the daughter of Baldwin, who aspired to the sovereignty when she was left regent for her daughter Constantia. Baldwin therefore caused that princess, though but a child, to be married to Raymond of Poitiers, the youngest son of William VII., Duke of Aquitaine. A contest speedily arose between Raymond and Alexis, with regard to the dependance of the principality of Antioch upon the throne of Constantinople. This continued from 1137 till 1142,

when Alexis entered Syria, drove back some hostile Turks, and demanded complete sovereignty over Antioch. The chief dignitaries of the place waited on him, and informed him that even if Raymond and his wife surrendered their rights, the people would choose another sovereign. The offended emperor then wasted the country, and retired to Cilicia, where he died before he could renew his hostilities.

Joscelyn du Courtenay had become sole lord of Edessa when Baldwin du Bourg mounted the throne of Jerusalem. He was a lion in battle, and met his death on the field. He had been wounded while besieging a castle near Aleppo, and lay sick of his wound when the enemy renewed hostilities. His son headed the army, but declined to meet the Moslems. Joscelyn caused himself to be carried in a litter to the field, when the report of his presence terrified the enemy into a retreat, and the old hero died giving God thanks that the terror of his name had produced as powerful an effect as any of his old achievements.*

The valiant and skilful Zenghi had been chosen emir by the Moslems, in the hope that his prowess might turn back the tide of European conquest; and his actions in the field fully justified the choice. A feud between the

* Mills's Crusades.



ST. BERNARD PREACHING THE SECOND CRUSADE.



Counts of Edessa and Antioch, offered an opportunity of striking a blow, and Zenghi led his troops towards Edessa. The Prince of Antioch gave no help, and but few soldiers came from Jerusalem to fight the battles of the son of Joscelyn. That prince was weak and effeminate, abandoning himself to pleasure in the town of Turbessel, while Zenghi was overturning his kingdom. The citizens of Edessa withstood his attacks for seventeen days; the priest fighting beside the meanest soldier, and the bishop blessing and encouraging the people. But the help, which they expected from without, came not. The Saracens entered the breaches, and the firm defence was punished by a dreadful massacre of men, women, and children.



ZENGHI was assassinated during a petty war with a Mussulman prince; and his sons, Saphadin and Nouredin, shared his kingdom. During the absence of their ruler from Edessa, the Christians in that place opened a communication with their former master in Turbessel, in consequence of which the prince suddenly appeared in Edessa, and forced the Turkish garrison to take refuge in the citadel. Nouredin flew to save his followers; and the Christians, finding it impossible to keep possession of the city, resolved to cut their way through the enemy. But they were surrounded

and attacked on all sides, and very few escaped the sabres of the Moslems. Thus Edessa remained in the hands of Nouredin, and the paleness which had spread over the star of Mohammedanism passed away.

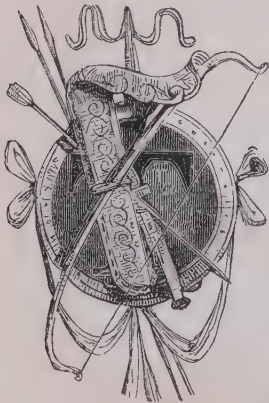
Horror and consternation reigned among the Christians of Europe when the news of the fall of Edessa arrived. The helpless condition of their brethren in the East, and the savage ferocity of the Moslems, were depicted in glowing colours. They seemed to see the Turks swimming in the blood of the thirty thousand slaughtered Christians at Edessa, and an ardour for vengeance became universal.

The Emperor Conrad III., and Louis VII. of France, headed a movement which was a second time to lead Europe against Asia. By the command of the King of France, a parliament of the dignitaries of his kingdom was assembled at Vezelay. The concourse was too great to be contained within the bounds of this city, and the people spread themselves in an amphitheatre to the foot of the mountain in which it is situated. Pope Eugenius III. had been invited by Louis to preach the crusade; but other affairs had detained him in Italy, and the task devolved on St. Bernard, then the oracle

of Christianity. The holy man, though worn in body with his austerities, and appearing to belong already to the tomb, found strength sufficient to accomplish his grand mission. His eloquence was applauded by the barons and the chevaliers; the king threw himself at the feet of the holy man, and demanded the cross in the sight of all the people; and the very hill shook with the shout of "God wills it!" bursting from the thousands of knights, the flower of European chivalry. The supply of crosses which had been provided for the occasion proved insufficient, and the pious saint tore his garments to make new ones. Queen Eleanor followed the example of her husband, and vowed to accomplish with him the great expedition.

Louis having completed his preparations, went to the abbey of St. Denis, to take from its altar the consecrated banner, and the pilgrim's staff and wallet. He received them, with a benediction, from the hands of Pope Eugenius himself, who had come to take part in the solemn and impressive ceremonies. He then set out at the head of a hundred thousand warriors, to march through Germany to Constantinople, where he had been preceded by the other crusaders. (A. D. 1147.)

Learning that the Christians of Western Europe were again about to seek the Holy Land, the Greek Emperor Manuel fortified his cities, and evinced a determination to treat them as his father had done the mobs which followed Peter the Hermit. Conrad wanted the firmness and decision of Godfrey de Bouillon; but Manuel was a son worthy of his grandfather Alexis. The ferocity, barbarism, and ignorance of the German soldiers, caused them much suffering in their passage through the Byzantine dominions; and Conrad was so offended at what he deemed the duplicity and arrogance of Manuel, that he crossed the Bosphorus without a meeting.



HE wily Grecian treated Louis with every mark of respect, that the inhospitality shown towards the Germans might appear to have been caused by their own brutality. Harmony reigned almost without interruption between the Greeks and the French; and the gates of Constantinople, which frowned in scornful defiance upon the Germans, were thrown open to their more polished auxiliaries. While Manuel thus entertained Louis and his followers, his subjects were actively engaged in playing false to the host of the emperor, in its passage through Bithynia. They corrupted the coin with which they purchased goods of the pilgrims, and cheated them whenever an opportunity offered—mingling chalk with their meal, and practising many other shameful frauds. The Greek guides conducted them through deserts, where they suffered from famine, or led them into the midst of the hosts which the sultan had assembled for their destruction. But a tenth part of the number of fol-



lowers with which Conrad had crossed the Danube, effected a junction with the soldiers of Louis. The two armies then pursued the march together; but near Ephesus, to which they directed their course, Conrad received letters from the emperor and empress, couched in the most affectionate terms, and inviting him to recruit from his toils by spending the winter in Constantinople. He gladly accepted the friendship he had before despised, and received the most cordial treatment in the Imperial City, his power having been so reduced as to render him no longer formidable.

Louis, left to bear all the burdens of the expedition, led his army through Asia Minor, to the banks of the Meander. The enemy were encamped on the opposite shore, and galled with their arrows all who attempted to procure water from the river. The French burned to cross and join battle with them; and when, after some days, they succeeded in finding a ford, they crowded into the water, and gained the opposite bank. The Moslems attempted to drive them back with the sword and lance, but they were repulsed on all sides.

Louis himself protected the passage of the army, and displayed signal valour in the combat on the opposite shore. He pursued the Turks to the mountains, and the banks of the river "were sown with dead enemies." The passage of the Meander was the first triumph of the crusade; and the loss was so slight, that the pilgrims attributed it to the intervention of Divine Providence.

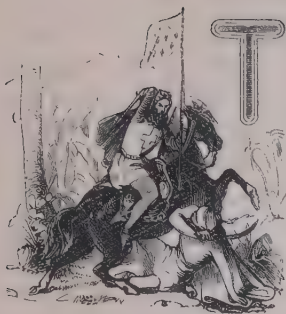
By it, the crusaders were put in possession of Laodicea; and their next step was to cross the mountains between that city and Satalia. The advanced guard entered imprudently into the defiles of Cadmus, and when the remainder of the army attempted to follow them, the Turks suddenly attacked them from the mountain tops, and gained great advantages, notwithstanding the prodigies of a long and heroic resistance. In this action the king lost his escort; but bold, agile, and vigorous, he seized the branches of a tree which grew convenient, and sprang upon the highest part of a rock. A great number of the enemy rushed to secure his person, whilst others showered arrows on him from a distance. But his corslet happily defended him from their weapons; and those who dared to approach within striking distance were punished for their presumption with the loss of their arms or heads. Ignorant of his rank, and fearful of his prowess, his enemies gave up the attack, and departed to secure the spoils of the battle-field before night. Louis took advantage of the darkness to make his way to the advanced guard, who were mourning him as slain. During the twelve days which were occupied in reaching Satalia, the crusaders were four times attacked by the Turks, and four times vigorously repulsed them. From this city, Louis VII. embarked for Antioch, with the chiefs of his army, leaving the remainder to march to Cilicia, under the charge of Thierry of Flanders. But the Governor of Satalia proved faithless to his treaty; and the Turks destroyed nearly all of the unfortunate pilgrims. Louis was well received by Prince Raymond of Antioch, who wished to induce him to enter into



LOUIS VII. ON MOUNT CADMUS.

his own ambitious schemes; but though he united the persuasions and threats of Queen Eleanor to his own representations, nothing could move the king from his determination to proceed to the Holy City.

At Jerusalem he found the Emperor Conrad, with the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, and the ruined German band. Manuel had encouraged and assisted them to proceed thither, preferring to allow Conrad to encounter new perils and dangers, rather than return to his own dominions without further loss. The new European commanders met the princes and prelates of Asia Minor in council at Ptolemais, and the champions of Christianity were there engaged to attempt the relief of Damascus from the yoke of the Moslems. (A. D. 1148.)



THE king and the emperor signalized their valour during the siege by many brilliant but useless exploits. The town was on the point of capitulation, when a dispute arose as to who should possess the prize. It was at length adjudged to Thierry of Flanders; but the barons of Palestine were offended at this, and commenced negotiations with the infidels. The besiegers moved their camp from the neighbourhood of the breaches to a sterile spot, where the defences were very strong; and the sons of Zenghi succeeded in throwing fresh squadrons into the town. The besiegers withstood the sallies of the new garrison for a short time, then broke up the camp and returned, sorrowful and disgraced, to Jerusalem.

Conrad soon returned to Europe; and Louis followed him, about a year afterwards. Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, who had acted as regent during the absence of Louis, suddenly astonished the French by attempting to restore the fortunes of the Holy Land, at a time when all thoughts of a crusade had ceased. Failing to arouse his countrymen, he resolved, though seventy years of age, to lead the vassals of St. Denis thither; hoping that, with the favour of heaven, they alone would accomplish more than all the legions of the king and the emperor. But a fever cut short his longings for military fame: he died at St. Denis, and his successor in the abbacy loved not to handle the sword. Thus the Christian States in the East were left without hope of succour, though advancing rapidly towards dissolution.

The councils of the chiefs there presented nothing but feuds and rivalry, in which Baldwin IV., the seventh king of Jerusalem, and his brother-in-law, Guy de Lusignan, bore prominent parts. Baldwin was a leper; and the lords of Syria deprived him of his power, and gave the kingdom to his son, limited by a regent. But at the end of three years, both the Baldwins died; and Guy de Lusignan took advantage of the troubles which ensued, to seize upon the throne of Jerusalem.

Two Egyptians having engaged in a contest for the dignity of sultan of their own country, a title which the ministers of the Fatimite caliphs had ventured to assume, one of them, named Shower, fled to the court of the Turkish prince, Nouredin, for aid. His opponent, Dargham, obtained a promise of assistance from Almeric, King of Jerusalem, who led an army to Egypt in person. Nouredin sent thither Shiracouch, and his nephew, Saladin, two valiant and hardy leaders. Dargham was slain; and Shower quarrelled with his Turkish auxiliaries, and joined his arms with those of the Christians against them. The war was ended by a peace, and Almeric returned to prepare for the conquest of Egypt for himself. He attempted it, but failed; and Saladin soon after dethroned Shower, and made his uncle sultan. (A. D. 1169.) Shiracouch enjoyed his new dignity but two months; at the end of that time he died, and Saladin

succeeded him. Saladin soon after revolted from the Fatimite caliph, the caliph of Bagdad was everywhere acknowledged as the head of the Mohammedan faith, and the great Moslem schism was healed. Noureddin soon after found reason to suspect the allegiance of Saladin to himself, and commenced a journey to Egypt; but he died on the way, A. D. 1171, and Saladin immediately commenced the consolidation of the Turkish power in Syria and Egypt, a politic measure, the effects of which were but too severely felt by the Latins. Almeric attempted to profit by the confusion which immediately followed the death of Noureddin, but death put an end to his own schemes. The Syrian affairs of Saladin, however, prevented him from giving much annoyance to the Christians during the feeble reigns of Baldwin IV. and Baldwin V.

Reginald, Lord of Karac and Montreal, on the Arabian frontiers of Palestine, disregarded the treaties existing between the King of Jerusalem and Saladin, and perpetually plundered the subjects of the Moslem prince. Saladin swore to avenge himself upon the robber; and when he found the court of Guy de Lusignan too weak to afford him redress, he assembled his army, and avowed his intention of capturing the Holy City itself. The first important events of the war occurred at Tiberias, the residence of the wife of the Count of Tripoli. That city being besieged by Saladin, the count announced to Lusignan his willingness to allow it to fall into the hands of the enemy, and advised him to act altogether on the defensive, as the want of the necessaries of life would undoubtedly force the Moslems to retire. But by the advice of the grand master of the Templars, Lusignan resolved to pursue the opposite course. All the principal cities were emptied of their garrisons for the purpose of forming an army, and the King of Jerusalem hastened to encounter his adversary. A battle lasting two days was fought in the plain near Tiberias, in which the superior numbers of the Moslems triumphed, and the Christians were massacred. The piece of the true cross was taken from its possessors, and the king and the principal cavaliers remained prisoners. Lusignan had his life spared by the conqueror; but two hundred and thirty Templars were massacred after the battle.

This decisive victory having been achieved, Saladin began to follow it up with vigour. Acre, Jaffa, Cesarea, Beritus, and Tiberias fell, and he laid siege to Tyre. The citizens would have delivered that city into his hands; but Conrad of Montferrat, whose father was a prisoner in the hands of Saladin, imparted to them a portion of his unconquerable spirit, and they made a successful resistance. Ascalon next capitulated, and the conqueror soon after planted his standard beneath the walls of Jerusalem. In fourteen days the walls near the gate of St. Stephen's were undermined, and the garrison gave way to despair. They offered to capitulate, and the generous Moslems allowed them moderate terms. (October 2d, 1187.) The nobles and military were to be sent to Tyre, and the Latin Christians to become slaves unless redeemed at a certain rate. The queen and her retinue of ladies passed through the enemy's

camp with the miserable inhabitants. Saladin met and pitied them, and with the courteous generosity which always distinguished him, granted their request for the release of their fathers, husbands, and brothers, who had been held in captivity since the battle of Tiberias.

And now the infidels were again masters of the Holy City and the Sepulchre. The flag of Islamism had replaced the standard of the cross on the mountain of Zion. The conquerors tore the great cross from the church of the Sepulchre, and dragged it through the streets with ropes; they broke in pieces all the bells of the churches, and converted them all into mosques except the church of the Resurrection. Four camel-loads of Damascene rose-water were employed in purifying the mosque of Omar; "as if," says Fuller, "Saladin would wash it from profaneness, whilst he profaned it with his washing." The Saracen emirs imitated the noble generosity of their chief, and alleviated the misfortunes of many who were too poor to pay the stipulated ransom. Malek-el-Adel begged a thousand Christian prisoners from the sultan, and set them at liberty; and the emirs of Edessa and Beer claimed those born on their territories as their property; and when they had obtained them, they set them free. Seven hundred of the poor obtained their liberty from the sultan at the suit of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and as many more at the request of Bakan, who had commanded the garrison during the siege. Then Saladin, who, as it has been justly observed, was a barbarian only in name, emulated the magnanimity of the emirs, and declared that in a certain day the gate of St. Lazarus should be open from sunrise till sunset, and that all poor Christians who came there, should be allowed to go free, if, on being searched, they were found to have no property about them. Everywhere in the Moslem territories the unfortunate Christians were treated with kindness and pity; but their fellow-worshippers proved themselves unworthy of the name they bore. They frequently refused them admittance into the cities, and robbed them of the effects which the generosity of Saladin and his soldiers had spared.

With Jerusalem fell the cities and territories of Ascalon, Laodicea, Gabala, Sidon, Nazareth, and Bethlehem. But the spirit of freedom, and the valour of Conrad of Montferrat, again preserved the city of Tyre. Shortly after the capitulation of Ascalon, Guy de Lusignan and several of his principal chiefs obtained their freedom, after the King of Jerusalem had renounced to Saladin his claim to that title. He now took the road for Tyre, and announced his intention of entering it as its sovereign; but the people resolved that he should rule it who had defended it so valiantly. The valour of the citizens of Tripoli resisted the arms of Saladin, and he turned to the more easy conquest of the territories of Antioch. Twenty-five towns submitted, and Antioch itself became tributary to the Mussulmans.

Unparalleled consternation was spread through Europe by the news of the battle of Tiberias, and the fall of Jerusalem. Pope Urban III. died of

grief, when it was communicated to him. His successor immediately called upon all the princes and people of the West for vengeance, and the celebrated historian, William, Archbishop of Tyre, a witness of the catastrophe, went to preach the crusade in France, England, and Germany. Several councils were



FREDERIC BARBAROSSA.

held to promote his object, at which the establishment of a general contribution, known as the *Saladin tithe*, was decreed. The German emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, set out for the Holy Land with an army of a hundred thousand men, which, like those which had preceded it, was nearly destroyed in traversing Asia. (A. D. 1185.) Philip Augustus of France, and his brother in arms, Richard Cœur-de-Lion of England, abandoned the plan of leading their followers by land to Palestine. One embarked at Genoa, and the other at Marseilles, and both passed the winter together in Sicily. Richard had been affianced to Alice of France; but he now contracted a marriage with Berengaria of Navarre; and

this, with national animosity, and the artifices of the usurper, Tancred, alienated the two monarchs and their armies. The two fleets put to sea separately; and Philip arrived first at Acre. Richard landed at Limisso, conquered Cyprus from the Greek emperor, Isaac Comnenus, and soon after ceded it to Guy de Lusignan, in exchange for the crown of Jerusalem.

Frederic Barbarossa had met with more success in the commencement of his hostilities with the Saracens than any of the early crusaders. He defeated the Turks in a general engagement, and took Iconium. But when, on the 10th of June, 1190, the army was crossing the river Cydnus, the bold old warrior, to whom the passage over the bridge was far too slow, dashed with his war-horse into the stream, in order to overtake more speedily his son, who led the van. But the current overpowered the veteran, and bore him away; and when assistance could be rendered, he was found to be dead. His death was regarded as a punishment for his having warred with the popes by some, who thus gave occasion to the pious and loyal Fuller to wonder "how they, seeing the emperor drowned in a ditch, durst adventure themselves into the wonderful depths of God's counsel."

The Duke of Suabia, Frederic's second son, now took command of the army. He carried his father's bones to Tyre, and there interred them. The Turks annoyed his army on the march, and many of the pilgrims forgot their vows, and left the army at Antioch. The remainder marched under the Duke of Suabia to Acre.



HILE the hosts of Europe were slowly assembling, the Christians in the Holy Land, encouraged by the example of Conrad of Montferrat, wholly recovered from their panic, and joined the standard of the King of Jerusalem. Greeks, Latins, and Syrians, Templars and Hospitallers, all were found in the army, with which he boldly laid siege to Acre, the key of all Palestine, (1189.) Saladin felt so perfectly secure in the possession of his conquests, that he did not at

first attempt to overwhelm his foe; and the army of Lusignan was so speedily reinforced by the Europeans, who preceded the main armies, that Saladin found it almost impossible to throw succour into the town when he came to its relief. So well was the Christian camp fortified, that the Saracens were wont to say that not even a bird could enter it. The engagements which happened between the two armies in the plain, were very sanguinary and obstinate. But the want of discipline on the part of the Christians, and the activity of Saladin and his officers, prevented the rapid progress of the siege; and the naval forces were so equally balanced that the Christians could not prevent the Egyptians from succouring the city, nor the Saracens prevent the communication of the crusaders' camp with Europe.

The heroic resistance of the besieged, and the intrepid perseverance of the crusaders, had continued twenty-two months, when Richard and Philip Augustus reached the camp of their allies. More than once did Saladin advance to attack them in their camp; but the rampart of European lances always proved too firm to be broken by the efforts of his cavalry. Frequent attempts to scale the fortifications were made also by the Christians; but, overwhelmed by stones and arrows, and galled by the Greek fire, they filled with their dead bodies the trenches of the city.

The most memorable feat of arms took place during an attack made by the soldiers of King Philip upon the walls of the town; an attack which failed for want of support on the part of the English. The machines of the besiegers had caused the foundations of a tower to shake, and its walls to totter, and a body of Frenchmen rushed to assault it, but were repulsed.



ALBERIC CLEMENT AT
THE SIEGE OF ACRE.

THIS happened under the eye of Alberic Clement, the marshal of King Philip. Animated by a generous resolution, the young hero exclaimed, "I will die to-day; or, by the grace of God, I will enter into Acre." He seized a ladder, gained the top of the wall, and killed with his sword several of the enemy. His bold example was followed by too many of the soldiers. The ladder by which they attempted to join him would not support their weight, and they fell to the ground. Alberic, left alone on the wall, fought fiercely for a time; but the arrows and darts from a thousand foes pierced the joints of his armour, and he found the death he had so bravely dared. But his fate proved a stimulus to exertion; and the camp of Philip produced many whose names are worthy to be recorded beside that of Alberic Clement.

The English and the Pisans soon after attempted to enter the town over the ruins of a fallen tower; but their valour could not surpass that of the undaunted defenders, and they were forced to retire. The results of these separate attacks proved to the two kings the necessity of a united action; and they reconciled their differences, and agreed that one should defend the camp whilst the other attacked the town. For it had been the custom, whenever an assault was attempted, for the besieged to sound their drums and cymbals as a signal to Saladin, who flew to attack the half-deserted camp of the Christians. But two years of unremitted hostility had reduced the garrison to the last extremities, and they sent ambassadors to the camp of the Christians to arrange the terms of a capitulation. The terms offered were not such as they could accept, and they renewed the war with the utmost desperation. From their ramparts and half-ruined towers, says one of their historians, they threw themselves upon their assailants as stones detached from the summit of a mountain. But these prodigies of valour could not long sustain them, and a new attempt to capitulate was more successful. The city, with all the arms, the munitions, and the treasures which it contained, were to be given up, with five hundred Christian captives; the true cross was to be resigned, with one thousand captives, and two hundred knights, selected from those who were in the hands of Saladin; and unless that prince paid to Richard and Philip the sum of two hundred thousand bezants of gold within forty days, the inhabitants of Acre should be at the mercy of the conquerors. Philip and Richard then took joint possession of the city, and the banners of France and England were displayed together on its walls. Richard took up his residence in the royal palace, and Philip occupied the house of



CAPITULATION OF ACRE.

the Templars. (A. D. 1191.) The disarmed garrison marched out of the city with their wives and children; but they did not appear ashamed of their misfortunes, the pride of their countenances was not lost, and their intrepid air appeared like the result of victory.

A few weeks after the capitulation of Acre, Philip announced his intention of returning to Europe, and Richard gave his consent; but made him promise not to make war on the English till at least forty days after the return of their king. Philip went to Tyre, and thence sailed for Europe. Richard repaired the walls and houses of Acre, and the clergy consecrated anew the altars. But Saladin did not return the wood of the cross, and was probably unable to pay the ransom of the prisoners in Richard's hands. He endeavoured, however, to move Richard to mercy toward them; but the lion-hearted king proved how destitute he was of the noble generosity of the lord of the woods, by murdering, in cold blood, all the poorer class of prisoners, and reserving the emirs and others for whom a high ransom was expected. Saladin made a vow never to spare the life of a Christian who should fall into his hands; but the prisoners in his camp who were expecting freedom, were sent safely back to Damascus.*

At the head of thirty thousand French, German, and English soldiers, Richard set out from Acre, and marched towards the south. Clouds of the Saracenic cavalry hung round the army; and the Templars in the van, and Hospitallers in the rear, were often insufficient for the protection of the columns. Near Azotus Richard was obliged to come to a general engagement. He headed the centre of the army in person; the right wing was commanded by James D'Avesnes, the left by the Duke of Burgundy. The right wings of both armies were driven back; but the Saracens were unable to make any serious impressions upon the "soldiers of iron." King Richard showed himself everywhere, and everywhere streams of blood and disordered squadrons marked his passage. When the enemy were beginning to fall into confusion, he ordered a charge to be sounded on the trumpets, the infantry wheeled behind the cavalry, and the knights rushed forth upon the foe. In a little time the army of Saladin was dispersed, and flying in all directions. Some fled to the mountains, others threw themselves into the sea. Returning from the pursuit, the Christians suddenly found themselves attacked by Faki-ed-deen, the nephew of Saladin, at the head of a reserve corps of twenty thousand men. The Moslem prince fought



RICHARD I. AT AZOTUS.

* Keightley's Crusades.

with fury and desperation, and the fortune of the day would have been changed had not Richard arrived in season to succour his panic-stricken warriors. In this battle, Saladin lost more than eight thousand of his soldiers, and thirty-two of his emirs.* The victory cost Richard only a thousand men; but it was dearly gained by the loss of the heroic champion of the cross, James d'Avesnes. After losing an arm and a leg, he had continued to fight; and he cried when dying, "Richard, revenge my death." The day after the battle, he was buried at Azotus, in the church of the Virgin. (A. D. 1191.)

Richard now found his progress unmolested; Saladin having drawn off his soldiers to dismantle all the fortresses in Palestine. The enemy, he reasoned, would thereby be kept in the field, and his strength might be exhausted by frequent skirmishes. Richard wished to press forward to Ascalon; but the army were anxious to restore the fortifications of Jaffa. While these were being completed, Richard amused himself in falconry, regardless of the enemy. On one of these occasions, he laid himself upon the ground, and went to sleep. The noise of a party of approaching Turks broke his slumbers, and he mounted his horse and put them to flight; but as he pursued them with his knights he fell into an ambush. Four of his party were slain; and the Turks had laid hands upon the king himself, when William Despreaux announced himself to be Richard, and the Turks secured him whilst the king escaped. The gallant knight was not long after exchanged for ten Turks.

When the fortifications of Jaffa were completed, a negotiation was resorted to by Saladin, for the purpose of delaying the renewal of open warfare. It of course ended fruitlessly, and the Christians set out for Jerusalem. As they approached that city, the Templars and Hospitallers dissuaded Richard from attacking it, for the reason that if it should be captured, they would be at once involved in wars with the Turks; while, the Sepulchre being recovered, the vows of most of the pilgrims would be accomplished, and they would return home, leaving the Holy Land to its fate. To Ascalon, therefore, Richard retreated, and the whole army set about rebuilding its walls. The nobles, and the most distinguished clergy, laboured with the meanest soldier, and the work advanced with great rapidity. At the siege of Acre, the Duke of Austria took one of the enemy's towers, and planted his banners on it. Richard, incensed at what he considered the arrogance of an inferior, threw them into the ditch. This insult was probably remembered by the duke when the walls of Ascalon were to be rebuilt; and he haughtily refused to assist in the work, saying that he was neither a carpenter nor a mason. This speech so inflamed the anger of Richard, that he smote the duke with his foot upon the breast, and ordered him to depart instantly with his vassals from the Christian camp, threatening to break his standard, and throw it into the

* Michaud—*Histoire des Croisades*.

river; and while the duke retired muttering projects of vengeance, Richard followed him with imprecations.

A civil war had broken out in Acre, between the Genoese and Pisans; and Conrad came from Tyre to bear a part in it. When Richard advanced to the city, Conrad retraced his steps, and the English monarch restored peace. Conrad soon after allied himself with Saladin, that he might maintain his independence; and Richard again prepared for war. Meanwhile affairs in England demanded his presence, and he began to think of returning. A commander was to be selected to succeed him, as the head of the Christians; and as the public voice named Conrad, Richard gave his assent. But that gallant prince was assassinated whilst preparations were making for his coronation. In the midst of the tumult which resulted from this act, appeared Henry of Champagne, the favourite of the people. He was invited to seat himself upon the vacant throne, and with it he accepted the hand of the widow of Conrad. Henry soon afterwards joined Richard; and the Duke of Burgundy, who had left the army at Ascalon, came with him. Richard now determined to continue the prosecution of the war, and again the army marched towards Jerusalem, harassed at every step by the flying parties of the Saracens. But again a council of the Templars and Hospitallers decided that a siege of the Holy City was inexpedient, and that the army should march to some other conquest. Rancour and discord reigned throughout the camp, when this decision was published; and the whole army would have been destroyed by the enemy, had not a retreat been commenced. Meanwhile, Saladin had learned the cause of the delay, and had, by forced marches, reached and laid siege to Jaffa. The city was quickly reduced to such distress, that the knights bound themselves to surrender if aid from without did not reach them during the next day. Before morning, Richard arrived at the city, with about five hundred followers, with whom he had come to the rescue by sea. He was the first to leap on shore, and so vigorous were the blows he dealt, that the Saracens fled in dismay, and he planted his banner on the walls. On the next night Saladin attempted to recover his advantages; but the gallant band were proof against all his attempts, and the arm of Richard caused confusion to fall upon his enemies. A truce was then agreed on for three years and eight months; the fort at Ascalon was to be destroyed, while Acre and Jaffa were to remain in the hands of the Christians. The people of the West were to be allowed to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem, without being subject to taxation.

The illustrious Saladin died at Damascus, soon after concluding the truce with Richard. He was a prince of great generosity and valour. An act which he performed on his death-bed, is worthy of notice. A public crier was sent through the town of Damascus, followed by a person bearing a winding-sheet aloft as a standard, and continually proclaiming, "This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East." In his will he ordered charities to be distributed to the poor, without distinction of Jew,

Christian, or Mohammedan, intending by this legacy to inculcate that all men are brethren; and that when we would assist them, we ought not to inquire what they believe, but what they feel; an admirable lesson to Christians, though given by an infidel. In that age, all the advantages of science, moderation and humanity, were on the side of the Saracens.



RICHARD CŒUR DE LION IN DISGUISE.

After the truce, Richard determined to return to England, to put an end to the intrigues of his brother John and the King of France; but as he did not wish to pass through the territories of the latter, he sailed to the Adriatic. Being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he put on the habit of a pilgrim, Hugh the Merchant, and attempted to pass secretly through Germany. But he forgot

to lay aside his kingly liberality, and was thereby betrayed. He became a prisoner in the hands of the Duke of Austria; but Henry VI. thought it wrong that a king should be prisoner to a duke, and therefore Leopold delivered him to the emperor at Mentz, on the 23d of March, A.D. 1193. He was conveyed thence to Trifels, and afterwards to Worms. Meanwhile the English were much troubled about his fate. But Henry had written an account of what had passed to the King of France, who in turn communicated it to the Archbishop of Rouen. Two abbots were sent from Oxford to Germany, to ascertain his situation. These met him on the way to Mentz; he was cheerful as usual, amusing himself by practical jokes upon his keepers, and astonishing them by exhibitions of his great strength. He complained of his brother John; but said that the treatment he had received from Leopold had not been harsh or unreasonably severe.

Philip rejoiced at the captivity of his rival, and made war upon his territories in Normandy, where the Earl of Leicester bravely defended his sovereign's possessions. Though Prince John attempted to seat himself on his brother's throne, the lords and the people sympathized with Richard. Queen Eleanor interested Pope Celestine in the cause of her son, and he threatened excommunication to Henry and Philip, if the one did not release his prisoner, and the other cease from his barbarous wars. But the emperor arraigned Richard before a diet at Worms, for supporting a usurper in Sicily, quarrelling with Philip of France, insulting Leopold of Austria, and murdering the Marquis of Tyre, who was a relative of the emperor. But the captive king pleaded his cause so well, as to leave no doubt of his innocence upon the minds of those who heard him. The emperor, nevertheless, still held him a prisoner. He was finally ransomed, by the payment of one hundred thousand marks of silver, raised by taxation in England; and hostages were left for the payment of forty thousand in addition.

Scarcely had the tumult of the third crusade subsided, when the terrors of famine and war menaced the unfortunate Christians in Palestine. The pope solicited the emperor to engage in a new crusade, for the relief of the Holy Land; and a diet was accordingly convoked at Worms, where the emperor avowed his determination of taking the cross, and induced the whole assembly to follow his example. He divided the troops into three great armies, one of which, under the command of the Bishop of Mentz, took the route for Hungary, where it was joined by Margaret, queen of that country, who had resolved to end her days in Palestine. The second army was assembled in Lower Saxony, to go thence by sea; while the third was led by the emperor himself into Italy, in order to take vengeance on the Normans of Naples and Sicily, who had risen against his government. The rebels were humbled, and their chiefs put to death with such excruciating tortures, that the empress, by whose right he ruled over them, renounced her conjugal faith, and headed the people in a war for the recovery of their liberties. Henry had sent the army on its way to the Holy Land, and the empress obliged him to submit to such

terms as she chose to impose on him in favour of the Sicilians. He died, not long after, in Messina, as was supposed of poison administered by the empress, who saw the ruin of her country hatching in his perfidious and vindictive heart.

The Third Crusade was the last in which armies contended for the possession of the Holy Land upon its own soil; and before proceeding to mention those which were productive only of suffering and barren glory, it may be well to take a glance at the progress of affairs in Europe during the period of the War of the Investitures and the first crusades.

With the change of dynasty effected by Hugh Capet, France had become, like Germany, a government entirely feudal. Hereditary counts and dukes were found in every province, and the kingdom was a monstrous assemblage of members, without any compact body. He who could only seize on two or three small villages, paid homage to the usurper of a province; and he who had only a castle, held it of the possessor of a town. The royal domain of Louis V. had been reduced, at the time of his death, to the cities of Laon and Soissons; a sufficient reason for Capet, who possessed the Dukedom of France, the Countship of Paris, and extensive domains in Picardy and Champagne, for seizing on a crown to which he gave more real strength than he received. During his life, and for the purpose of establishing his throne, he associated his son Robert in the government of the kingdom; and at his death, which happened (A.D. 996) in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and eighth of his reign, Robert quietly succeeded to his power. Hugh Capet ruled with great prudence and moderation, and but few circumstances of bloodshed or violence attended his usurpation. Robert was equally amiable, but less vigorous. He had married Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree, and several bishops sanctioned the union; but Pope Clement V., without examining the cause, suddenly published a decree, ordering the king and queen to be separated under peril of excommunication. This monstrous outrage was resented by the king, who refused to part with his wife; but such was the superstition of the people, that Robert was abandoned by all his courtiers, and all his domestics save only two, who gave to the dogs all that remained from his table, and purified by fire the vessels in which they had been served. Fearful of civil commotions, Robert at length divorced his wife, and married the termagant Constance, daughter to the Count of Arles.

In 1024, after the death of the German emperor, Henry II., the Italians offered to him their crown, and the imperial dignity; but he had sufficient firmness and wisdom to refuse acceptance of such a dangerous donation. His eldest son, Hugh, died before his father, and Queen Constance endeavoured to induce her youngest son, Robert, to make war on his brother Henry for the succession. But the fraternal love of the princes was so great, that her efforts failed, and she vented her anger against them both. Robert died in A.D. 1031, lamented by all classes of the people.*

*Helgaldus. Russel.

Prudence and sagacity mark the character of Henry I., who succeeded his father at the age of twenty-seven. Constance, however, had not lost her enmity towards him; and she speedily organized a rebellion, by which Henry was driven to seek protection of Robert of Normandy. By the aid of the Normans, he recovered his throne; and in gratitude for the services he had received, he bestowed on them a considerable part of the possessions of the crown. Robert of Normandy soon after made a pilgrimage to Palestine, leaving Henry of France and Alain, Duke of Brittany, as guardians of his son and successor. Robert died during his pilgrimage, and the Norman barons spread war over the whole duchy. Alain came to quiet the disturbances; but being roughly handled, he returned home, and not long after died of a slow poison, supposed to have been given him in Normandy. Henry soon afterwards invaded Normandy, joined his forces with those of the young duke, defeated the rebels, and secured the succession to William, A. D. 1046. Four years after, Henry died, and was succeeded by his son Philip, who, being only eight years old, was confided by Henry to the care of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, his uncle. This regency proved to be one of the most quiet and happy recorded in history; and Philip, by the death of Baldwin, in 1069, came into peaceable and firm possession of the throne, at the age of fifteen.

Censure has however been applied to the conduct of Baldwin, in relation to William of Normandy. The supplies with which that prince accomplished his design of conquering England could certainly have been obstructed by the continental rulers; but the papal influence was exerted in favour of the aspiring prince, and the emperor, Henry II., promised to protect Normandy in his absence, and gave his vassals leave to embark in the enterprise. Baldwin had therefore good reasons for allowing William to make levies in France and Flanders; and even had these been wanting, he could not with a good grace have refused the request of the duke, who was his son-in-law. The army which had been assembled might have been led against France in the event of a refusal, and the sixty thousand warriors who embarked for fame and glory in England, might have placed their leader on the throne of France.

The education of Philip had been well conducted; but he had acquired a sordid disposition, which led him on all occasions to prefer his advantage to his honour. The chief event of his reign is his marriage to Bertrand de Montford, Duchess of Anjou, whilst her husband and his queen were both alive. For this, Pope Urban II. excommunicated him, in the same council of Clermont at which the first crusade was preached. Notwithstanding this, he lived with the countess until, after the deaths of Urban II. and the Queen of France, he was restored to the bosom of the church. But the nobles had taken advantage of his domestic troubles to cast off much of his authority; and he found it necessary to associate his son Louis VI. with him in the government. Louis was remarkable for activity, a quality which Philip did not possess; he kept continually in the field, at the head of an army, compelled the noble



EMBARKATION OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

freebooters to make restitution to the church and to others whom they had wronged, and punished their violations of the laws by demolishing their castles. The appearance of disinterestedness with which he executed this summary justice was such, that when in his thirtieth year he succeeded his father on the throne, he brought to the support of the monarchy the affections of the nobility, and the reverence and good wishes of the people. He engaged in a war with Henry I. of England, which terminated without altering the state of either kingdom. Louis, who, from his corpulency in his latter years, was surnamed *the Gross*, devoted himself to the regulation of the internal affairs of his kingdom. He married his son, afterwards Louis VII., to the heiress of Guienne and Poitou; and at his death, in the sixtieth year of his age, left him the crown.

The commencement of the twelfth century saw the consummation of an important revolution in France, the Enfranchisement of the Communes. This has usually been attributed by historians as a merit to Louis le Gros; but an impartial examination of the facts seems to show that non-resistance, and the simple work of mediation, are all that form the share which that monarch took in the enfranchisement of the communes. He was certainly the first monarch who granted royal charters to the free cities; and on this the French historians have claimed for him the honour of founding them. The industrious population of the Gallo-Roman cities could not be enslaved like that of the agricultural districts: it continued, under all oppressions, undivided and industrious. Fellow-sufferers and co-labourers soon associated themselves for com-



EMANCIPATION OF THE COMMUNES.

mon defence; they again fortified gradually, but securely, their half-ruined walls; and then, when protected by a fortress, and holding arms in their hands, they declared to their noble oppressor that they were brothers, and their cities asylums of friendship, independence, and peace. The nobles resisted; war ensued, and was terminated by the emancipation of the communes: sometimes by great success in the field, sometimes by payment of a sum of money. Thus was it in the south of France. The example was contagious: the new spirit spread north to the banks of the Somme and the Scheldt; the cities assumed the name of commonalties, they sent the archbishop and principal citizens to solicit the boon of a charter from the king: they were too powerful to be refused. Thus the communes Laon, Amiens, Noyon, and Saint Quentin, were enfranchised by Louis le Gros: the cities of the south of France were already free.

William II., surnamed Rufus or Red, from the colour of his hair, succeeded the Conqueror on the throne of England, while his brother, Robert, took peaceable possession of Normandy. But many Norman barons possessed estates in both countries; they wished that one ruler should hold sway over both England and Normandy; and as Robert possessed equal claims with his brother to the kingdom, and the exclusive right to the duchy, they engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone the king, and raise his brother to power. They put themselves in a military posture, and William began to tremble for his crown. His father, like all the Normans, had been much attached to the manly amusement of hunting; and for the gratification of this passion, he had tyrannically caused a new forest to be made near Winchester, covering the country for an extent of thirty miles, and caused the forcible expulsion of the inhabitants, and the demolition of houses, churches, and convents. By increasing the rigour of the game-laws, and refusing to make any compensation for the property he destroyed, William I. had added to the ill-will of his English subjects; and this feeling they transferred to his successor, when they experienced his violence, haughtiness, and tyranny. But he conciliated them by concessions and promises, and gave them leave to hunt in the royal forests. When they had aided him to suppress the rebellion, they found their burdens made as heavy as before; indeed, they were augmented by his tyrannical temper. Robert's brother, Henry, had furnished him with a sum of money in exchange for a portion of his dominions, and the two princes now united to repel an invasion of William Rufus. But the clergy mediated between the parties, and Robert and William were reconciled; but Henry became incensed, and began to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of his fortress, on St. Michael's Mount. His brothers besieged him there, and he was obliged to capitulate. He afterwards wandered about, deprived of dominions and attendants, and suffering from poverty. Robert soon after mortgaged his possessions to William Rufus, for ten thousand marks, and set out for the Holy Land. The death of the English king occurred just as he was about receiving a similar accession in the provinces of Guienne and Poitiers. This event took place in the New Forest, where he



DEATH OF WILLIAM RUFUS.

was engaged in hunting, with a French gentleman, Walter Tyrrel, remarkable for his address in archery. Tyrrel let fly a shaft at a stag, that he might show his dexterity; but it glanced against a tree, struck the king to the heart, and instantly killed him. Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put spurs to his horse, fled to the sea-side, embarked for France, and went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land: a penance imposed in that age for all crimes, voluntary and involuntary.

The throne of England would now have come by right to Robert of Normandy; but he did not return from the crusade until a month after his brother's death; and by that time Henry had placed the crown upon his own brows. In order to strengthen himself on the throne, and secure the love of the English, Henry married Matilda, niece of Edgar Atheling, the legitimate heir to the throne in the Saxon line, after the death of Harold. But Robert appeared and asserted his claims, and Henry was in danger of being driven from his elevation, if an accommodation had not been effected by the interposition of Archbishop Anselm, A. D. 1101. Robert became the sport of fortune, and lost his duchy, which was seized by Henry, in 1106; he was taken a prisoner to England, and there confined until his death, twenty-eight years afterwards.

William, the son of Robert, attempted to obtain Normandy for himself, and was supported by Louis VI. of France; but the diplomacy and the arms of the French king proved unsuccessful, and the vigour and dexterity of Henry

secured his triumph. The marriage of the son of the Norman Conqueror with Matilda, the niece of Edgar Atheling, was a politic measure, which revived the old Saxon feeling in the conquered and oppressed, and made them think that days of equality were in store for them, even under the new race. Matilda the Good was worthy to be a descendant of Alfred. She probably would have been more happy in the cloister to which she had fled for safety during the terrors of the Norman licentiousness, than with her ambitious, daring, profligate, but accomplished husband. Her influence over him did something, no doubt, for ameliorating the condition of her native land. She was a civilizer: she built bridges; she cultivated music. But the promise which Henry had made when he seized the crown, that the old Saxon laws should be restored, was wholly broken as soon as he had fairly grasped the sword of authority. The collection entitled "The Laws of King Henry I." is a "compilation of ancient Saxon laws by some private person, and not a publication by authority of the state." The writer of this adds, "The general clamour in England for the Saxon laws of the Confessor, under the three Norman kings, makes it probable that this compilation was made by some private person at the time when the restoration of these laws was called for by, and repeatedly promised to, the nation."

After an interview with Henry, the pope declared that of all men he had ever seen, the King of England was beyond comparison the most eloquent and persuasive; and having gained the pope, Henry easily detached the Count of Anjou from the alliance, by giving the hand of his son William in marriage to the count's daughter. The pope disregarded the complaints of the Norman prince, and a victory gained by Henry caused Louis to end the war. In 1120, the English monarch brought his son William over to Normandy, that he might be acknowledged as heir to the crown. Returning to England, the royal party set sail from Barfleur; the king's ship was soon out of sight; but that in which the prince sailed was detained by an accident. The captain, Thomas Fitzstephen, and his crew, got intoxicated, while the damage was being repaired; and when they put to sea, they ran the vessel on a rock, where she foundered. The prince had got into the boat, and was clear of the ship, and out of danger, when he heard his natural sister, the Countess of Perche, cry for aid. He made the seamen put back to save her; but such numbers laid hold of the boat that it went down, and all on board perished. One hundred and forty young noblemen were with the prince; and of all the passengers, a butcher of Rouen only escaped. He was saved by clinging to the mast. Fitzstephen also grasped it; but having inquired for Prince William, he was informed that he had been drowned. "I will not survive him," said the unfortunate man; and loosing his hold, he fell back into the sea and perished.

When Henry was informed of the calamity, he fainted away, and was

never afterwards seen to smile. He, however, attempted to secure the succession in his own line, by marrying his daughter, Matilda, to Geoffrey, son of the Earl of Anjou. Geoffrey was recognised as the heir of his father, Matilda as the heiress of Henry. In 1132, Matilda gave birth to a son, who was named Henry, and invested with the rights of both his parents. An incursion of the Welsh having taken place in 1135, Henry prepared to return from Normandy to England; but having surfeited himself with eating lampreys, he died on the first of December, in that year. Henry I. was one of the most able and accomplished princes that ever filled the English throne. Of his family the Conqueror only equalled him in talent. To the other qualifications considered necessary in his day for the government of a nation, he added a taste for literature which would have rendered him remarkable in a private station, and which has obtained for him the name by which he is known in history, Henry Beaclerc, or *Fine-scholar*.

Henry had fondly imagined that he had secured the succession to his little grandson, who was now three years old; but he had himself shown that another road lay open to the throne besides that of legitimacy. His nephew Stephen, a grandson of the Conqueror, resolved to avail himself of this path to power. He succeeded in seizing the royal treasures, and in violation of his solemn oaths, and of all the ties of gratitude, sought to deprive of their inheritance the daughter and grandson of that uncle who had given him all he possessed. In this emergency, Robert, the illegitimate brother of Matilda, proved himself worthy of confidence and esteem. He boldly espoused her cause, and entered into a contest with the usurper. Louis le Gros of France, espoused the cause of Stephen, while David, the King of Scotland, assisted his niece Matilda. "All was dissension, and evil, and rapine," says the chronicle of the reign of Stephen. Stephen defeated the Scotch in a battle at Northallerton, called the Battle of the Standard, because the English used as a rallying point, a large crucifix on a wain. (Aug. 22, 1138.) Robert, Earl of Gloucester, went to the continent in 1139, and returned with his sister to England. Her cause quickly found partisans; and blood was shed in all parts of the country, until the 14th of February, 1141, when a decisive battle was fought at Lincoln. Stephen behaved with the greatest bravery; on foot, alone, and surrounded by numbers, he defended himself with his battleaxe, and when that was broken, exchanged it for his sword. But his sword too was shivered to pieces, and he unwillingly submitted. The nobles of his party gave up the contest, and Matilda might have enjoyed the throne in quiet, had it not been for her irritable temper and her unwarrantable pride. Hostilities were again renewed, and Robert was taken prisoner; and so helpless were the partisans of Matilda without him, that they gladly gave King Stephen in exchange for him. Henry, the son of Matilda, did not take an active part in the contest till 1152, when he had reached his eighteenth year. He then married Eleanor of Guienne and Poitou, the faithless divorced wife of Louis VII. of France. Henry's dominions on the continent

now extended from the confines of Flanders to the Pyrenees; while Louis, as superior lord, only owned one-tenth of France. Incensed at the conduct of Henry, Louis aided Stephen's son, Eustace, to overrun Normandy. But Henry speedily expelled him, and then crossed over to the aid of his partisans in England. He was now so powerful that Stephen agreed to an accommodation. His son Eustace, however, continued in arms; but his opposition was soon after ended by his death. A council was held at Winchester in November, 1153, where it was agreed that Stephen should reign for the rest of his life on condition of adopting Henry as his son and successor; that Stephen's son, William, should inherit all that his father owned before his usurpation; that the adherents on both sides should sustain no injury; and that all grants of crown lands made by Stephen should be revoked, and all castles built by his permission demolished. These terms being confirmed by oath, Henry returned to Normandy. Stephen died on the 25th of October, in the next year, and the throne of England came quietly into the possession of the son of Matilda. Stephen was a prince possessed of many noble and estimable qualities; and would have probably made an excellent king if he had acquired his crown in a legal manner.*

Henry Plantagenet, the successor of Stephen, was received in England with universal acclamations; all swore the oath of allegiance to him with joy; and good order and justice, to which the kingdom had long been a stranger, were re-established. He visited his foreign dominions, and reduced them to order. He then returned to England, and forced the turbulent Welsh into submission.

In the year 1137, Louis VII., surnamed *Le Jeune*, ascended the throne of France. After settling the disturbances which had arisen in his kingdom, he resolved to go on a crusade to Palestine. For this purpose he confided the government of France to the Abbot Suger, and set out with Queen Eleanor on the second crusade. When he returned, he divorced the queen for her faithlessness, and returned her dowry of Guienne and Poitou. The importance of these, her hereditary estates, was so great, that Henry Plantagenet, more politic than delicate, sought and obtained the hand that Louis had abandoned. From the time of this marriage, Henry was extremely formidable to Louis, who therefore espoused the cause of Stephen in the civil wars in England. A dispute about the county of Thoulouse brought



QUEEN ELEANOR.

* Keightley.

on a war between the two monarchs in 1157. This war is chiefly remarkable from the circumstance of Henry's raising troops by subsidies instead of the usual feudal service.

Henry was anxious to abridge the extraordinary privileges of the clergy; and in his efforts for attaining this object, he relied upon the aid of Thomas à Becket, who had been his favourite, and whom he promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury. In this he was disappointed; for Becket, when elevated to the primacy, openly opposed the king, and by the aid of the pope succeeded in defeating all his measures.

Henry in a moment of passion said, in the hearing of some of his barons, "To what a wretched state am I reduced, when I cannot do as I will in mine own kingdom, by reason of one priest; and there is no one to deliver me out of my troubles!" These passionate words were taken as a hint for vengeance, and four knights of the king's household communicated their thoughts to each other, and withdrew secretly from court, and proceeding to



DEATH OF THOMAS A BECKET.

Canterbury, assassinated the primate at the altar. Henry, learning that they had dropped some threatening expressions, had despatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate. But he was too late.

The consequence of this transaction was unconditional submission to the pope on the part of Henry, who dreaded an excommunication for a crime which he had not intentionally instigated.

Finding that he was not to suffer from the thunders of the Vatican, Henry undertook and completed the conquest of Ireland; an enterprise for which he had formerly obtained a papal bull, but which he had not been able to prosecute, on account of his quarrel with Becket. The annexation of Ireland to the English crown was easily effected; the small principalities into which it was divided being so weakened by long and destructive wars, that Henry had little to do but receive the homage of the inhabitants. On his return to England, he learned that two papal legates, sent to investigate the circumstances attending the murder of Becket, had arrived in Normandy. He went thither and cleared himself, by oath, of all participation in that unfortunate affair; but as it was probably his intemperate expression which had produced it, he bound himself to serve three years against the infidels, if the pope should require this atonement.

The tranquillity of Henry appeared to be now re-established. It was, however, of short duration. Prince Henry, his son, had married the daughter of Louis VII., of France, and that monarch instigated him to take up arms against his father for the duchy of Normandy. His brothers also joined him in this unnatural league. Besides the King of France, William, King of Scotland, Philip of Flanders, and many other princes and barons on the continent, and in England, espoused the quarrel of the princes. Unwilling to war against his children, Henry had recourse to the pope, who excommunicated his enemies; but they despised the ecclesiastical authority, and the unhappy father was forced to take up arms. Sensible of the effects of superstition on the popular mind, Henry took advantage of it to secure the affection of the English. He went barefooted to the tomb of Becket; prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint; remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day; watched all night over the holy relics; put scourges into the hands of the monks, and presented his bare shoulders to their castigation.

Next morning he received absolution; and a great victory that day obtained over the Scots by his generals, was heralded as a proof of his reconciliation with Heaven, and with Thomas à Becket.* In this battle, which was fought near Alnwick, the King of Scotland was made prisoner. It was deemed impious longer to resist a prince who was thus shown to be a favourite of Heaven, and hostilities were soon terminated by a peace.

In 1179, Louis of France came over to England, and performed a pilgrimage to the shrine of Becket, that he might obtain his intercession for the recovery of his son and heir, Philip, from a severe illness. Soon after his return, he was struck with an apoplexy, which deprived him of his reason, and afterwards caused his death. (A.D. 1180.) Philip Augustus, though but fifteen at the time of his father's misfortune, took the government on himself, and received the crown when his father died. The sovereign of England,

* Russel.

rising above the jealousy and ambition common to the princes of his age, generously employed himself in composing the troubles which arose in the royal family of France. Philip, however, ungratefully encouraged Henry's sons in their opposition to him, until both the sovereigns became imbued with the crusading spirit, and assumed the cross. Before they could join in this enterprise, much trouble was excited by the joint intrigues of Philip and Prince Richard, who had seduced the chief barons of Poitou, Guienne, Anjou, and Normandy, from their allegiance to his father.

Henry was so unsuccessful in this war, that he granted to his rebellious son the most advantageous terms. Among the conditions of the treaty was one by which the king engaged to pardon all the associates of Richard. When he received the list of their names, he found upon it that of his favourite son, John, whose influence with the king had often excited the jealousy of his brothers. Shocked at finding the confidence he had shared with his child so shamefully betrayed, the unhappy father gave himself up to despair. He vented maledictions, which he never retracted, on his ungrateful sons. The excitement thus produced threw him into a fever, which terminated his life, at the castle of Chinon in Normandy, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Two of his sons had died during his life-time; the other two occupied in succession his throne.

The first efforts of Richard on taking possession of the throne which he had so long coveted, were directed towards the Holy Land. He joined the king and the forces of France at Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, where the two monarchs promised mutual friendship, and pledged themselves and their barons not to invade each other's dominions during the crusade. Equally haughty, ambitious, and inflexible, it was not to be expected that two such leaders as Philip and Richard, rivals for power and for glory, would be able to remain in the bonds of friendship. As we have seen, Philip became jealous of his rival, and returned without accomplishing the object of the expedition. On his return, he employed every means of force and intrigue against the absent King of England. When, at the crisis of his affairs, Richard fell into the hands of his enemies in Germany, Philip endeavoured to prolong his captivity; and even made the emperor the largest offers for the transfer of his person from the possession of the Austrian house to that of the Capetians. He formed an alliance, by marriage, with Denmark, that the claims of Denmark to the English crown might be transferred to him; concluded a treaty with Richard's brother, John, and invaded Normandy while John attempted to make himself master of England. Richard finally bought his liberty of the emperor for one hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver, and appeared again in England, to the great joy of all his people. The ceremony of his coronation was again performed; the fortresses in the hands of his brother's adherents were quickly reduced, and Richard passed over into Normandy, burning to be revenged on Philip. But no events worthy of note

took place during this war, except the revolt of John from Philip to his brother, who generously forgave him his offences. He was also about to conclude a peace with France, when he met with his death while besieging the castle of Chalus.

The military talents of Richard formed the most shining part of his character; and the appellation of *Cœur-de-Lion*, the Lion-Heart, under which his fame has penetrated into every part of the globe, was awarded to him for the height to which he carried personal courage and intrepidity. His love for military distinction caused him utterly to neglect the welfare of his kingdom; and his violence and cruelty have scarcely any parallel, even in the worst ages of feudalism.

As he left no issue, the throne came into the possession of his wicked brother, John. On his accession, Arthur, Duke of Brittany, the son of Richard's deceased elder brother, Geoffrey, attempted to gain possession of his uncle's crown. He was aided by Philip of France; and all things promised success, when he was unfortunately taken prisoner by John. His assassination, which soon followed, was believed by his countrymen, the Bretons, to have been effected by the king's own hand. They rebelled, and were joined by Philip, who subsequently added Brittany to his own dominions, together with Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Picardy. (A. D. 1205.)

These misfortunes of John were followed by a quarrel with the pope, on the subject of investitures in his own kingdom; and England was laid under an interdict.

While England was thus suffering from the impolicy and misconduct of her sovereign, Innocent III. brought about a new and extraordinary war on the continent. He published a crusade against the Albigenses, a species of sectaries in the south of France, whom he denominated heretics, because of their opposition to the power and influence of the clergy. The superstition which had led the chivalry of Europe against the infidels in Asia, and the reigning passion for military glory, now brought great numbers to the standard of the leader of this new crusade, Simon de Montfort. The Count of Toulouse, who protected the unhappy Albigenses, was robbed of all his possessions; and as though the sufferers had been the worst of malefactors, the knights of the cross laboured to exterminate them with incredible atrocity and barbarism, A. D. 1209.

Having triumphed over these innocent opponents, the pope again renewed his operations against the impious king of England. A sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him, his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and Philip II. was appointed to cause his deposition. Anxious faithfully to perform so agreeable an office, Philip immediately commenced preparing an armament for the conquest of England; and John made every exertion for the preservation of his dominions. But a papal legate passed through France into England, and negotiated with John for a cessation of hostilities, on the condition of being absolved and received again into the bosom of



KING JOHN ABSOLVED BY THE POPE'S LEGATE

the church. John consented to do homage to the pope in the person of his legate, Pandolfo, and thenceforth to hold his kingdom as a vassal to the Holy See. The legate then returned to France, and at Boulogne met Philip, anxiously awaiting his return, that he might proceed to England. His astonishment and chagrin at learning that, as England had become a fief of the Holy See, and its king the pope's vassal, he must not attack it, can scarcely be expressed. He intended, nevertheless, to have prosecuted the enterprise; but the fleet of France was destroyed by that of England; the emperor, Otho IV., entered into an alliance with John against France; and Philip found himself in danger of losing all his possessions in consequence of having accepted England as a present from Innocent.

Undismayed, however, he advanced to meet his enemies with an army of fifty thousand chosen men, commanded by the chief nobility of France,



BATTLE OF BOUVINES

and including twelve hundred knights. Otho was aided by the natural brother of King John, William Longespee, the Earl of Salisbury; the Count of Flanders; the Duke of Brabant; seven German princes, and a force superior to that of his adversary. Near the village of Bouvines, between Lisle and Tournay, the contest was decided. The allies were totally routed; the dead bodies of thirty thousand Germans covered the plain. Thus was the glory of Philip permanently established, and security given to all his dominions. (A. D. 1213.)

A truce was soon after concluded between France and England; but the peaceable possession of his throne was not to be the portion of John; his weakness was well known, and the Norman barons determined to embrace the opportunity of recovering the natural and constitutional rights which had been stripped from them by the successors of the Conqueror. They entered into a confederacy, and formally demanded a restoration of their privileges; and that their cause might wear the greater appearance of justice, they also included those of the clergy and people. With arms in their hands, they laid waste the royal domains, and John was obliged to humble himself. He appointed a conference with them at Runnymede, not far from Windsor; and there, on the 19th of June, 1215, he signed and sealed the Great Charter. This deed granted very important liberties to every order of men in the kingdom, and



WILLIAM LONGESPEE,
EARL OF SALISBURY.

is justly regarded by the English as the foundation of their free institutions.

While thus tracing the progress of England and France, we have suffered the affairs of Germany and the rest of Europe to lie unnoticed. The emperor Henry V. was succeeded by Lothario, Duke of Saxe-Supplemburg, A. D. 1125. The principal actions of Lothario were his establishment of Pope Innocent II. over his rival Anacletus, and the temporary expulsion of the Normans of Apulia, A. D. 1139. On his way back to Germany, he was taken sick and died at Trent, in the twelfth year of his reign. Conrad, Duke of Franconia, succeeded him; but Henry, the haughty Duke of Bavaria, contested his right to the throne. The family name of Henry was Guelf, whence his partisans obtained the name of Guelfs. Henry was stripped of his dominions; and after his death, the contest was continued by his brother Guelf and Roger of Sicily. Frederick of Suabia commanded the armies of his brother, the

emperor; and he gave to his soldiers the name of Ghibellines, from the name of his birth-place. The terms of Guelf and Ghibelline were afterwards differently applied: the former was used to designate an adherent of the pope, while a partisan of the emperor bore the title of Ghibelline.

While the war in Germany was brought to an accommodation, disorders broke out in Italy, during the continuance of which Pope Lucius II. lost his life. The emperor dying in 1152, his nephew Frederic Barbarossa (*Red Beard*), was elected emperor, in the hope that he might reconcile the internal dissensions of the empire, as he was by the paternal side a Ghibelline, and a Guelf by the maternal. This he effected by giving Bavaria, the ancient inheritance of the Guelfs, to Henry the Lion, of Saxony, the head of that party. He afterwards turned his attention to the affairs of Italy, and in 1154 he held a great diet on the banks of the Po, where many complaints were made against Milan. This city, which had grown so great as to rival Rome itself, proudly refused to answer them, and the emperor therefore inflicted a punishment upon it. He left Italy with threats of future vengeance; but the Milanese, unawed by his power, continued their independent policy. By reducing Lodi to ashes, they incurred the wrath of Frederic, who marched against the city, compelled it to surrender, destroyed its fortifications, and spread waste and desolation over the homes of the unfortunate people, who were all exiled. Frederic then went to Rome and took part in the civil war, in the course of which his soldiers burnt St. Peter's Church. A plague followed, which destroyed his army, and compelled him to return hastily to Germany.

But the very cities who had complained of the Milanese in the diet, were moved to compassion by the severe punishment inflicted upon that people. They conducted them back to their homes and entered into a confederacy with them; and, like Athens, Milan became more powerful than ever, because of her destruction. The confederation then, in one year, built and garrisoned a new city, which they named Alexandria, in defiance of the emperor, and in honour of the pope. Frederic besieged it seven months without success, and then fought a pitched battle with the allies at Lignano, May 29, 1176. Owing to the unexpected defection of Henry the Lion, he was totally defeated and obliged to recognise the independence of the Lombard cities. In consequence, the Duke of Bavaria was tried for felony, deposed from all his dignities and fiefs, and declared an outlaw. The emperor, however, took compassion on him, pardoned his offences, and counselled him to retire to the court of his father-in-law, Henry II. of England, that the rage of his enemies might be moderated by his absence. Meanwhile, Brunswick and Luneberg, his hereditary possessions, were reserved to him. Thus the duke came to dwell as an exile in the country where his descendants were subsequently to ascend a brilliant throne; for there his consort Matilda gave birth to William, founder of the chief branch of the house of Hanover, which has given a race of monarchs to Great Britain.*

The emperor afterwards marched into Italy, where he was received as if no cause of enmity had ever existed. He gave to his son Henry the iron crown of Lombardy, and at the request of the Milanese, celebrated in their city the marriage of that prince with Constanza, the last heiress of the royal Norman race of Naples and Sicily. In May, 1189, Frederic set out for the Holy Land, where he expected to unite his arms with those of Philip and Richard against the great Saladin. As we have seen, however, he ended his days in Cilicia, a glorious death in a sacred cause. He was succeeded by Henry VI., who has gained everlasting infamy by the shameful manner in which he treated Richard I. of England. He died suddenly in Sicily, at the age of thirty-three, when he was planning the conquest of the Greek empire, as a means of securing a successful issue to the Holy War. (A.D. 1197.) After his death, the factions of the Guelfs and the Ghibellines tore the empire with civil war for ten years.

Philip of Suabia, and Otho, the son of Henry the Lion, were both chosen to the imperial throne, and both alternately ravaged the country. Philip was assassinated, and Otho bore sole sway. But he quarrelled with the pope, who set up another emperor, Frederic II., to whom he had been guardian since the death of his father, Henry VI. (A.D. 1215.) The battle of Bouvines decided Otho's ruin. Abandoned by all his followers, he lived as a private man, an emperor without a throne, until his death. (A.D. 1218.)

* Russell. Kohlrausch.

These troubles in Europe, however, did not prevent the formation of another crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. The adventurers in this expedition were chiefly French and Germans. The enterprising Venetians furnished them with ships, taking care to be well paid both with money and territory. To reward the Venetians, the crusaders reduced to its former allegiance the city of Zara, in Dalmatia, which had revolted from the government of the republic.

We have seen the throne of the East filled successively by four princes of the house of the Comneni, Alexis I., John, Manuel, and Alexis II. The latter was dethroned by his uncle, Andronicus, who was deposed in turn by Isaac Angelus. (A.D. 1185.) Ten years afterwards, he too was expelled, with the loss of his eyes, by his brother, Alexis. Isaac had a son named Alexis, who besought the aid of the Latins for his father, engaging to supply them with provisions and money, and submit himself to papal jurisdiction. By them, Isaac was restored to the throne. He then ratified the treaty which his son had made with the strangers, and died. The young Alexis succeeded him, and fell a victim to the hatred of the Greeks, who were incensed at him for calling in the aid of the Latins. A relative, named Murtzufe, strangled him with his own hands, and usurped the throne.

This gave the crusaders, who were headed by Baldwin of Flanders, a pretext for interference. Constantinople was attacked on the 12th of April, 1204, and captured with little difficulty. The standards of the bishops of Soissons and Troyes were planted at the same instant on one of the towers. The blows of the battering-rams burst three of the gates of the city; the whole army of crusaders rushed in, and for several days the unfortunate citizens endured all the horrors of massacre and pillage. The very coffins of the emperors were stolen by the soldiers and valets in the army, who penetrated wherever silk shone, or gold glittered. The altar of the Virgin, a master-piece of art which decorated the church of St. Sophia, was pulled to pieces, and the veil of the sanctuary was torn to ribands. While some of the French danced with the ladies in the sanctuary, others engaged in gambling on the marble tablets which represented the apostles. The plate in the sacred edifice was used on the tables of the conquerors, and horses and mules fell dead, overcome with the weight of the spoils laid upon them.

Baldwin of Flanders was elected emperor, and Murtzufe was condemned to be thrown headlong from the top of a lofty column. Thrace and Mæsia were all, however, that came into the possession of Baldwin; the Venetians receiving for their share Peloponnesus, Candia, and several cities on the coast of Phrygia, while the Marquis of Montferrat seized on Thessaly. The pope gained for a time the whole eastern church, an acquisition which was felt to be of more importance than the reconquest of Palestine, very few knights indeed going into the Holy Land. Innocent III., in speaking of this conquest, says, "God, willing to console his church by the union of the Schismatics, has made the empire to pass from the proud, superstitious, disobedient Greeks, to the humble, pious, Catholic, and submissive Latins."



DESECRATION OF THE CHURCH AT THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

But the princes of the Comnenian race had not lost their courage with their empire. One of them, who bore the name of Alexis, erected on the coast of Colchis what he chose to call the empire of Trebizond; and Theodore Lascaris retook Nice, and settled himself as an emperor in Bithynia. Other Greeks entered into an alliance with the Turks and the Bulgarians against Baldwin, who was taken prisoner by them near Adrianople. They cut off his arms and legs, and left him a prey to wild beasts. His brother and successor, Henry, was poisoned in 1216, and within half a century Constantinople was again in the possession of the Greeks.

While these things passed in the east, Philip and Otho devastated the west.



FREDERIC II.

its better subsistence; and John of Hungary shortly after returned to his own dominions. Damietta in Egypt was invested, and taken after a siege of eighteen months. A papal legate, the Cardinal Albano, brought a reinforcement of troops from the emperor, and the pope confirmed his claim to the command of the whole expedition. John of Brienne therefore resigned it, and the monkish general speedily lost all the advantages that had been gained by his able predecessor. He led his army to a position between two branches of the Nile, just at the season when that river overflows its banks. Meledin had succeeded to the power of his father, Saphadin, on the decease of that potentate, and his conduct on this occasion proves him to have been worthy of his family. While he burnt the ships of the Christians on one side, he opened the sluices of the Nile on the other; and the increasing waters of the river threatened the cardinal and his soldiers with the fate of Pharaoh and his host. They therefore hastily concluded a dishonourable peace, surrendered Damietta, and bound themselves not to serve against Meledin for eight years.

In order to compel the Emperor Frederic to perform his vow, Pope Gregory IX. excommunicated him. He retaliated by ravaging the papal territories. But he at length resolved to perform the expedition, in order to remove the cause of the trouble. He was now prohibited from embarking before he was absolved from the sentence of the church; but he went in defiance of the papal interference. He neither desolated Asia nor destroyed the infidels; but he concluded a peace with Meledin, who ceded to him Jerusalem and its territory as far as Jaffa; Bethlehem, Nazareth, and all the country between Jerusalem and Ptolemais; Tyre, Sidon, and the neighbouring countries. Frederic then granted the sultan a truce for ten years, and returned to Italy. (A. D. 1230.)

At his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, Frederic II. made a vow to go in person to the Holy Land, a vow which Pope Honorius III. repeatedly called upon him to perform. But the emperor excused himself under the plea of important affairs at home, and the crusaders were forced to take for their leader, John, King of Hungary. They found John of Brienne, who held the crown of Jerusalem, at Ptolemais. Coradin, the nephew of the great Saladin, and the son of Saphadin, Sultan of Egypt and Babylon, commanded the Saracen forces. The Christians advanced to give him battle, but he found their numerical superiority to be too great, and declined the contest. The Christian army then divided itself into four parts, for



SHIPS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

During his absence a crusade had been preached against him; and his own son, Henry, and his father-in-law, John of Brienne, took part with the pope and the Lombards against him. On his return, however, he re-established order; compelled the pope to release him from excommunication, and ordered a peace to be proclaimed by the preacher, John of Vicenza. (A. D. 1235.) But the peace was of short duration. The emperor reappeared in Italy at the entreaty of Ezzelino de Romano, Podesta of Verona, and chief of the Ghibellines in Lombardy. This leader obtained possession of Padua; and Frederic, by a great victory over the Milanese at Corte Nuova, in 1237, broke the power of the Lombards. Milan, Bologna, Piacenza, Brescia, and all the other cities surrendered. But the pope became again incensed, and restored the hopes of the Guelfs by adding Venice and Genoa to their alliance. But when the emperor made his natural son, Enzo, King of Sardinia, in violation of the professed right of the Holy See to that island, and prepared to complete the subjugation of the Milanese, Gregory excommunicated him anew. (A. D. 1239.) Frederic then marched into Italy, captured Ravenna, and made the pope tremble in his capital. Yet he forbore to proceed to extremities, and offered to submit to the decision of an assembly of the fathers of the church. When, however, he perceived that none but his avowed enemies were summoned to attend, he forbade them from going to Rome; and Enzo, finding them about to proceed thither, attacked and destroyed the Genoese fleet which carried them, and brought a hundred prelates prisoners to Naples. This blow caused the death of the haughty Gregory.

(A. D. 1241.) He was immediately succeeded by Celestine IV., whose short reign was followed by an interregnum, which terminated in the election of Innocent IV., who, as Cardinal Fiesco, had been a friend to the emperor, but became, henceforth, his most formidable enemy. He confirmed the excommunication of Gregory, and then fled to Lyons, where he summoned the emperor to appear before him. Thaddeus of Suessa here defended the cause of his master with all the powers of truth and eloquence; but the struggle was vain, the fate of the emperor had been fixed. The pope pronounced the most dreadful curse upon him; the priests remained silent, extinguished their candles, and threw them on the ground.

The German bishops then awarded the imperial crown to Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia, who was, therefore, styled in derision, the "king of the priests." After his death (A. D. 1247) they chose another emperor, William of Holland. By these proceedings, both Germany and Italy were involved in confusion. In the language of an old historian, "after the Emperor Frederic was excommunicated, the robbers congratulated themselves, and rejoiced at the opportunities thus afforded them for pillage. The ploughshares were transformed into swords, and the pruning-hooks into lances. Every one supplied himself with steel and flint, in order to be able to produce fire, and spread incendiarism instantly."

In Italy the war continued uninterruptedly. The good fortune of the emperor at length deserted him. His gallant son, Enzo, was taken prisoner by the Bolognese, and sentenced to perpetual confinement. He languished in prison twenty-two years, and survived all the sons and grandsons of Frederic, all of whom met with violent deaths. The life of the emperor, however, had drawn nearly to a close. He did not long survive the loss of his chivalric and handsome son. He died in the arms of his other child, Manfred, in 1250, at the castle of Fiorentino, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He had worn the crown forty-one years, during one of the most remarkable periods of the Middle Ages, when, under such pontiffs as Gregory VII. and Innocent III., the papal power was in its zenith; when, by the establishment of the orders of knighthood, of the mendicant orders, and of the inquisition, the formidable pillars of the ecclesiastical structure were erected; when, by means of the crusades, the people of Europe were first brought into a closer connexion by a common feeling imbodyed in the sign of the cross; when chivalry, ennobled by religion, obtained a higher character, and a consistent organization; when the class of free citizens was gradually rising from its long degradation, and when the cities strengthened themselves against external dangers by great confederacies, and completed and confirmed their internal organization, by the establishment of corporations; when the first universities aroused the spirit of inquiry and examination; when the songs of the Provençals had found a home in Germany and Italy, and were sung by emperors and kings:—these were the times in which Frederic Hohenstaufen the Great lived and acted. Since

Charlemagne and Alfred, no potentate had existed who loved and promoted civilization in its broadest sense, so much as Frederic II.* His virtues and talents were great, and continually serviceable to the cause of civilization. His faults were the result of bad education, and the corruption and violence of the age in which he lived.

On the death of Frederic II., began the long German Interregnum, under which the clergy took arms against the laity, the weak were oppressed by the strong, and all laws, divine and human, disregarded. After the death of Frederic's son, Conrad, who had assumed the imperial dignity as successor to his father, and the decease of William of Holland, a variety of candidates appeared for the empire, and many were elected by different factions; but no emperor was properly acknowledged until 1273, when Rodolph of Hapsburg was unanimously raised to the vacant throne. Meanwhile, Denmark, Holland, and Hungary freed themselves from the allegiance they formerly paid to the empire, and several German cities erected a municipal form of government, which still continues. Lubec, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic united for mutual defence against the encroachments of the great lords, by the famous association known as the Hanseatic League. Eighty other towns, belonging to different states, afterwards joined to increase the wealth and power of this commercial republic.†

The archbishops of Cologne, Mayence and Treves, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine, Duke of Bavaria, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, who had long enjoyed the right of Pretaxation or first Election, assumed, on the death of William of Holland, the exclusive privilege of electing the emperor. Hence we have the origin of the *seven electors*, whose power and sovereign attributes constituted from this time the Germanic Empire a federative body.

England, meanwhile, had been the scene of much confusion. After being compelled to sign the Great Charter, John dismissed his forces, and promised that his government should conform to its provisions; but his disregard of this promise speedily involved him in another war with the discontented barons, in which Louis the son of Philip Augustus participated, invaded England, and was about to take possession of the throne. While John was preparing to make a final struggle for the crown, death ended his eventful life in the forty-ninth year of his age, and eighteenth of his reign. Crimes the most odious, and vices of the worst kind, united to form the character of John. His tyranny was not only ruinous to his people, but destructive to himself.

He was succeeded by his son Henry III., a child nine years old. The able and faithful Earl of Pembroke was chosen protector during the king's minority, and by a wise and conciliatory conduct, succeeded in changing the feeling of resentment which the barons entertained towards the father, into

* Encyclopedia Americana. Kohlrausch.

† Russell.



BATTLE OF TAILLEBOURG.

compassion for the helpless youth of the son. Throughout the kingdom loyalty revived; the army of the French prince was defeated at Lincoln; a fleet bringing reinforcements was compelled to return; the barons hastened to make their peace with the protector, and Louis determined to abandon his designs. He accordingly concluded a treaty with Pembroke, by which he promised to evacuate the kingdom, stipulating in return an indemnity to his adherents, a restitution of their honours and fortunes, and the free and equal enjoyment of those liberties which had been granted to the rest of the nation. (A. D. 1217.)

The government of Henry III., after the lamented death of the Earl of Pembroke, was weak and unfortunate. He married Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence; a circumstance which induced the king to keep a great number of foreigners about his person, much to the dissatisfaction of the English barons. At the invitation of his father-in-law, who promised to join him with all his forces, Henry, in 1242, declared war against France, and invaded Guienne. But the battle of Taillebourg secured victory to the French; his allies deserted him, and he was obliged to return with disgrace to England, after having lost all his possessions in Poitou. (A. D. 1243.)

Henry, like his father, was constantly engaged in disputes with the barons, on the subject of extending their privileges at the expense of the royal prerogative. They exacted from him an oath to observe the provisions of Magna Charta; and subsequently, with arms in their hands, under the lead-

ing of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, brother-in-law of the king, they compelled him to grant them a new constitution, known as the "Statutes of Oxford." (A. D. 1258.) By these, the Earl of Leicester was placed at the head of a legislative body of nobles, to whom the supreme power was transferred, that they might reform the state; but at the end of three years it was found that they had only cared for the aggrandizement of their own families. All orders of men murmured at this breach of trust; the pope absolved Henry and his subjects from the oath taken at Oxford, and he resumed the government. But Leicester would not resign the power he had enjoyed, and many of the chieftains concurred in his views. The civil war was renewed in all its horrors; and in a battle fought near Lewes, in Sussex, the royal party was defeated, and Henry and his son Edward were made prisoners.

Leicester then began to act as sole lord of the kingdom, and treated the barons with greater insolence than they had suffered from Henry himself. In 1265, he summoned a new parliament on a more democratical basis than any that had been assembled since the time of the Conqueror, and which presents the first rude outline of that now prominent feature in the British constitution, the House of Commons. Relying for support upon the lower classes, De Montfort ventured to tyrannize over the nobles, many of whom revolted, and joined the royalists. Their want of a leader was supplied by Prince Edward.

The oppressions of the usurper produced a force which Leicester was unable to resist. A battle was fought at Evesham, where the usurper was slain, and his forces totally routed.

The victory thus gained was used with moderation; no blood was shed on the scaffold, the mildness of Henry and the prudence of his son tempered the exercise of power, and order was happily restored to the state. Edward then undertook an expedition into the Holy Land (A. D. 1270), where he displayed his valour with such an effect, that the Saracens employed an assassin to murder him. Edward was wounded in the arm, but repaid the temerity of the ruffian with death. Meanwhile, Henry, sinking under the burdens of government, implored Edward to return. He obeyed, but before he reached England the king expired, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the forty-sixth of his reign.*

Soon after the return of Prince Louis of France from his invasion of England, Philip Augustus died, leaving to his son a kingdom twice as extensive as that which he had inherited. Philip had refused to engage in the war against the Albigenses; but Louis VIII., surnamed the Lion, following the pernicious advice of his counsellors, not only attacked the heretics during the life of his father, but sought an opportunity immediately on his accession to the throne of continuing the war against them. He assembled an army of fifty thousand men, and with this force besieged Avignon. The citizens fought

* Russell.



SIEGE OF AVIGNON.

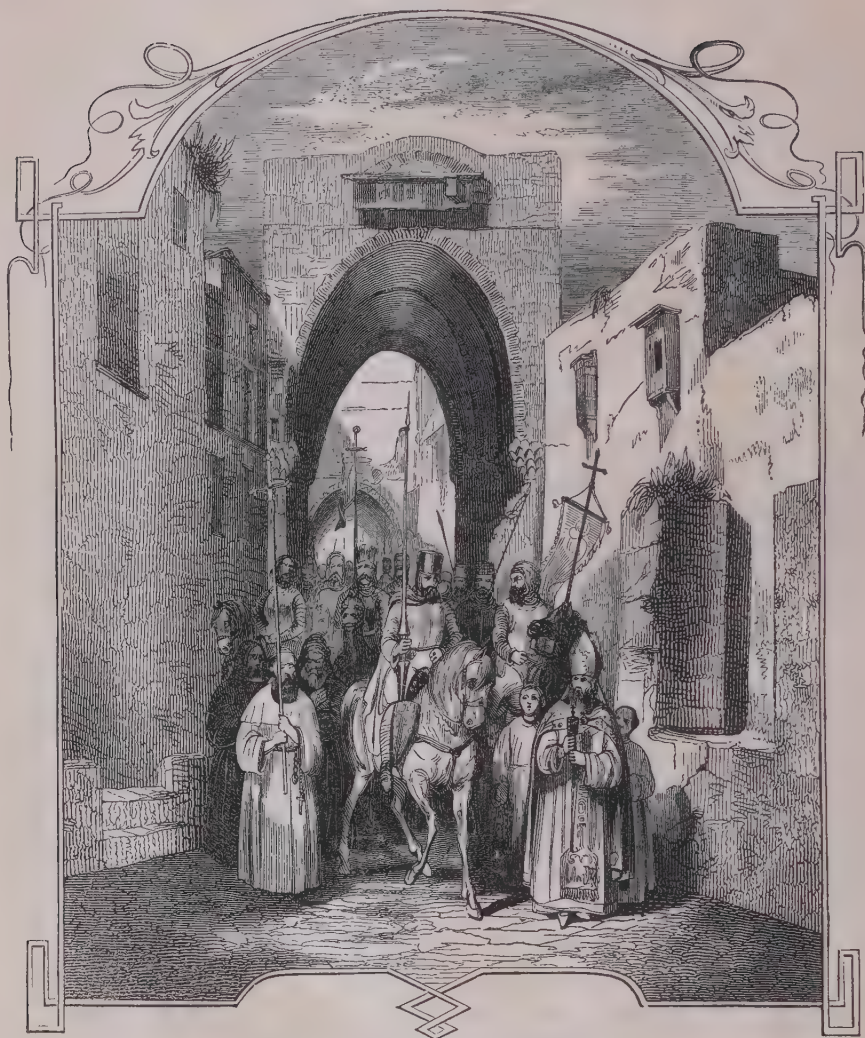
with the greatest obstinacy, and the besiegers lost above two thousand men. They were finally compelled to accept of a capitulation, the terms of which were uncommonly severe. Soon after this success, Louis died at Montpensier, on the 12th of November, 1226, four years after his accession.

He was succeeded by his son, Louis IX., whose piety procured for him the title of Saint. During the minority of his son, the will of Louis VIII. provided that the affairs of the kingdom should be administered by his queen, Blanche, as regent. The prudence and firmness of the queen-mother repressed the excesses of the nobles, considerably augmented the kingdom, and secured the undisputed possession of it to her son. Louis falling sick, was so alarmed, that he took the cross, and vowed to lead an army against the infidels should he recover. The remonstrances of the queen-mother and her counsellors were insufficient to divert him from the performance of what he considered a solemn obligation. The greater part of the princes of the blood, and of his vassals, accompanied him on the expedition, which set sail from Marseilles for Cyprus. After some stay at that place, he determined to attack Egypt. His prodigious army appeared before Damietta, early in June, 1249, and soon succeeded in capturing it. On entering the city, the crusaders had the good fortune to deliver fifty-three captives, who had refused to abjure their faith, and who had



ST. LOUIS IN CAPTIVITY.

groaned in irons for twenty-two years. This happy commencement was soon followed by a disastrous reverse. Vanquished in the battle of Massoura, after performing prodigies of valour, Louis found himself and his two brothers prisoners in the hands of the enemy. This misfortune served to show forth the virtue of the Christian hero, and the character of the great king. He did not address a prayer to his enemy, and his pride did not abase itself to the language of fear or submission. Of all his riches, his book of psalms alone remained to him—useless spoils for the Mussulmans—and when all else was lost, this was his only consolation. It was proposed to him to purchase his liberty by the surrender of Damietta, and the payment of a million of bezants. To this Louis replied, “A king of France may not buy himself with gold; we will give you Damietta for my deliverance, and the million of bezants for the freedom of my army.” The sultan, pleased with his dignified bearing, abated one-fifth



ST. LOUIS ENTERING PTOLEMAIS.

of the price. The treaty was about to be concluded, when the sultan lost his life at the hands of his revolted emirs. Louis, thus exposed to new dangers, escaped them all by his admirable calmness and firm bearing; and, at length, he was permitted to embark for Ptolemais, with his queen and the remnant of his army. He arrived there while the people and the clergy were yet praying for his deliverance.* Louis still, however, continued the appearance of a holy war, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Queen Blanche, who enjoined him

* Michaud

DEATH OF ST. LOUIS.



to return to his own troubled kingdom. Her death at length decided his return. (A.D. 1254.)

In his own country he studied to render complete the happiness of his people, and to preserve peace with the neighbouring sovereigns. His justice became proverbial; and his subjects, and strangers, gladly submitted their disputes to his decision. He never, however, abandoned the thought of a second crusade. The taking of Antioch by Bibars was a signal to him for its accomplishment. The efforts of the warriors of the cross were now directed against the possessions of the infidels in Northern Africa. The interested suggestions of Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily, and the hope of converting the King of Tunis, caused Louis to turn his arms against that city. But "instead of a proselyte," says Taylor, "he found a tedious siege, and a mortal disease." The crusaders were scarcely under the walls of Tunis, when a pestilence commenced its ravages among them. The king's two sons died of it; and Louis, weakened by the fatigues and austerities of his life, could not escape its malignity. Finding himself attacked by the malady, Louis demanded the extreme unction. He answered to the prayers for the dying with a voice as firm as if he were giving orders for the battle-field. He knelt at the foot of the bed to receive the holy Sacrament, and supplicated the Throne of Grace for the whole human family, not excepting the infidels, who were the cause of his glory and his misfortunes. On the 25th of August, A. D. 1270, feeling that his end approached, Louis caused himself to be laid upon a bed of ashes, where he remained extended, his arms crossed on his breast, and his eyes raised towards heaven, until the moment of his dissolution. As the sun sunk in the west he heaved a deep sigh; and as he pronounced distinctly the words, "Lord, I hasten into thy mansion, and I will adore thee in thy holy temple," his soul fled to the holy temple which he longed to inhabit.

His mortal remains were deposited in two funeral urns. One of them was given to his brother Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily; the other, in which were the bones and the heart of his father, was carried by Philip into France. Philip III., surnamed the Hardy, thus came to the throne, afar from his native land and in the midst of sickness and death. Charles of Anjou had arrived in the camp of the crusaders on the evening of his brother's death, bringing abundance of provisions and reinforcements. All hopes of successfully completing the enterprise were vain, and Charles took the command of the army only to negotiate. After two months, a treaty was concluded by which the King of Tunis engaged to release all his Christian prisoners, and pay the expenses of the war. After the crusaders had left the shores of the Moslem prince, they experienced still further disasters. A storm off Trapani wrecked eighteen of the largest vessels, and many more transports. Many knights and warriors, with an immense store of military equipments, and all the booty obtained at Tunis, were lost. At Trapani, Philip lost his wife and a new-born child; and the old troubadour, Thibaut of Champagne, King of Navarre, ex-

pired of exhaustion and chagrin, at the many miseries he had witnessed and sustained. The entry of Philip III. into his capital on the 22d of May, 1271, was with the most melancholy pomp with which sovereign was ever accompanied when he went to take possession of a throne which had devolved on him without dispute. He was followed by the coffins of his father, of his wife and child, of his brother John, and of the King of Navarre. Before the ceremony of his coronation was ended, his uncle and aunt, Alphonso of Poitou and his consort Jane, were added to the number of illustrious dead. By each of these deaths, however, the king personally was a gainer. The rich provinces of Auvergne, Poitou, Champagne, and Toulouse, fell at once, by right of inheritance, to the crown; and for the first time the kingdom of France extended from Calais to the Pyrenees, from Brest to the Rhone, and from Bayonne to the Alps.

The policy of Philip Augustus began then, in fact, to be developed by its fruits; and the sceptre was seen to be something more than the mere staff of office borne by the president of a feudal confederacy. It was, perhaps, fortunate for royalty that at this period it was in close alliance with the populace—with the middle class then struggling into being; it must, otherwise, have been compelled to fight its way through obstacles which, before the lapse of a century, would have given birth to pure democracy; and thus have saved the world from the unnumbered throes and struggles which, from time to time, have since convulsed it, and the issue of which has yet to be decided by a revolution; the character of which will be determined rather by the amount of intelligence which may direct, than by the degree of coercion employed in it. Had Philip possessed the talents of his father, his grandfather, or his great-grandfather, he might have had the option of being the most despotic prince, or the most beneficent sovereign of his age; but his genius resembled that of Charles of Anjou, and he chose rather to attempt the revival of the somewhat obsolete observances of knight-errantry, than to confine his attention to the concentration of his power, or the consolidation of his government. His intelligence was behind that of his day, and his reign consequently presented little that is of marked interest to mankind at large.*

We now return to the affairs of Spain, which was still divided into many different sovereignties. Navarre, Castile, and Aragon would not unite against the Moors, whose strength was concentrated in Granada. Alphonso XI. was the only Castilian king who distinguished himself in war against the Moors. He raised the siege of Tariffa (A. D. 1340), and thus gained important advantages over them. Peter the Cruel, of Castile, was dethroned by his illegitimate brother, Henry of Trastamara; but was subsequently restored by Edward the Black Prince. He was ungrateful to his benefactor; and in a subsequent contest lost his kingdom and his life. Castile now passed to the

* Pictorial France.

house of Trastamare, and for a long period enjoyed peace and prosperity. The kingdom of Aragon, less extensive than Castile, by the advantages of a better government, greater industry, and a line of sea-coast for foreign commerce, had acquired superior political importance. Aragon counted, among its foreign dependencies, Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, and the county of Barcelona, with several other Catalonian districts. These two kingdoms would probably have contested for the supremacy of Spain, had not the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella united them into one. (A. D. 1469.) Portugal was on the point of being united to Castile by the marriage of King Ferdinand's daughter, Beatrice, to the Castilian monarch, John I. But on the death of Ferdinand, the regency was usurped by his illegitimate brother, Don Juan, who, after a fierce war with the Castilians, succeeded in maintaining the independence of Portugal.

In the preceding pages of this volume, we have seen a horde of emigrant warriors, led by Attila the Hun, from the mountainous regions between China, Siberia, and the Caspian, desolate the fertile plains of Europe, and complete the destruction of the Western Empire of Rome. In like manner, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, an energetic prince, issuing from the wilds of Tartary with his Mongolian followers, succeeded in establishing his authority over most of the wealthy and powerful kingdoms of Asia. This prince was Temugin, the son of a monarch whose sway extended over thirteen hordes, numbering some thirty thousand families. By skilful conduct, he succeeded in acquiring the esteem and confidence of the neighbouring tribes, whose submission swelled his power and dominions. Bringing superstition to his aid, he received from a naked prophet, whose powers were not unequal to the task of ascending on a white horse to heaven, the divine right of conquering the earth. Then, in a general assembly, he was solemnly proclaimed Zingis Khan (supreme monarch) of the Mongols and Tatars, or Tartars.* As his power over the pastoral nations extended, he resolved to turn his strength against the wealthy nations of the South. The Great Wall opposed his passage: it was, however, overcome, and the warlike khan led his forces to the gates of Peking. The city was taken after a long and laborious siege; Tartar war, and internal faction, desolated all China, and the five northern provinces were added to the empire of Zingis.

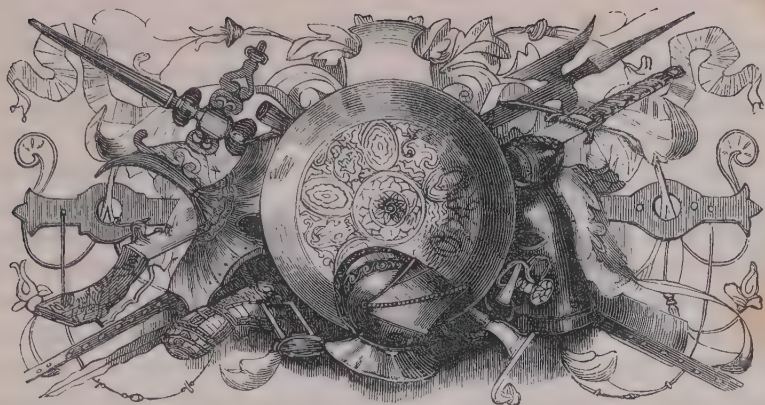
The Sultan of Kharasm or Carizme, by an unprovoked outrage, drew upon himself the hostilities of the Mongol conqueror. The literary eminence of Bokhara, the commercial prosperity of Samarcand, and the multitude and valour of the sultan's troops, all availed nothing against the torrent of war-

* Mogul is the name of the first of these rival but kindred tribes, as written by Gibbon. Mongol, however, appears to be more correct. The Chinese call them Mongkou; the Mondchoux, their neighbours, Monggo. The proper name of the latter tribe is Tatars: they were descendants of Tatar Khan, and once formed a horde of seventy thousand families, on the borders of Kitay. See Notes to Gibbon.

fare which poured over the land. In the first battle, one hundred and sixty thousand of the Carizmians were slain; and in four years, ravages were committed which the labour of five centuries has not been sufficient to repair. Not only Kharasm, but the greater part of Northern and Eastern Persia, Astrachan, and the territories to the confines of Russia, fell under the sway of Zingis Khan. He continued his career of conquest to the end of his life, which happened in the seventy-sixth year of his age. (A.D. 1227.) His successors followed in the path which he had marked out. China was completely subdued, the dominion of the caliphs of Bagdad terminated, and the sultans of Iconium made tributary. The son and immediate successor of Zingis Khan, known to history as Octai Khan, sent two armies from the centre of China, one against the Corea, the other to the lands north-east of the Caspian. The Russian Empire was subdued, and the Mongols spread through Hungary, Poland, and Siberia, and to the coasts of the Adriatic. Kublai Khan was the grandson, and the last of the successors of Zingis Khan who is noted for his conquests; the empire being ruined by partitions after his death.

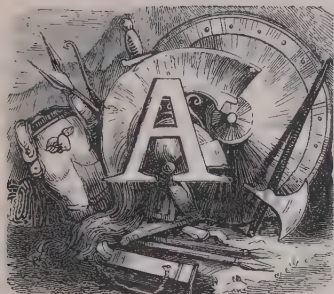
We have seen the death of a sultan of Egypt at the hands of his officers, at the time of the captivity of St. Louis. This occurrence marks the overthrow of the Ayubite dynasty, founded by Saladin's descendants in Syria, and in Egypt by the Mamelukes. These were Turkish captives, who had been sold into slavery by the Mongols. The Sultan Saleh had purchased a number of the younger captives, and had formed them into a camp on the sea-coast, where they received military instruction. Afterwards they were brought to guard the royal person, and the officers of state. But they rapidly grew numerous and powerful; and as we have seen, Turan Shah, the son and successor of Saleh, was murdered for attempting to break their strength. (A.D. 1250.) Their dominion over Egypt lasted two centuries and a half. The office of sultan became subject to military election. The rulers, therefore, did not become so effeminate as in hereditary monarchies; and under them the Mamelukes recaptured the kingdoms of Aleppo and Damascus, and united the whole of the ancient Saracenic possessions, in the Levantine countries, into one empire. The principalities of Antioch and Tripoli were easily subdued; and Acre and Tyre, the last memorials of the crusades, were taken, the first by assault, the latter by capitulation.*

* Gibbon. Taylor.



CHAPTER VII.

Decline of the Papal Power.



ALREADY the papal power, which had reached its greatest height during the pontificates of Gregory X., Nicholas III., and Martin IV., had, on the death of the latter pontiff, begun sensibly to decline. For nearly ten years the succession of popes was so rapid as to deprive them, in a great measure, of their influence on the affairs of Europe. After the death of Nicholas IV., in 1292, the papal chair remained vacant for upwards of two years, until the election of Celestine V., who soon afterwards, influenced by the Cardinal Benedict Cajetan, decreed his own abdication; and his counsellor having previously gained the suffrages of the college, assumed the triple crown, under the name of Boniface VIII.

Boniface renewed all the old pretensions of the church; but he had not the power necessary to enforce his decrees. He aspired to universal sovereignty over ecclesiastics, princes, and nations; and in consequence of his assumptions, Philip the Fair, who had succeeded in 1285 to the throne of France, rebelled, and was excommunicated. This act, once so formidable, was disregarded by the French nation; and the quarrel continued until, finally, the pope bestowed the kingdom of France upon the Emperor of Germany. Boniface himself was, in the meantime, excommunicated by the bishops of Hungary, for endeavouring to impose upon them a king of his choice.

In a reunion or assembly of the bishops and barons of France, Philip appealed to a future council against the anathema of the pope; and William de Nogaret, his attorney-general, accusing the pontiff of heresy and simony, it was determined to imprison him. This magistrate, seconded by the Ghibelline

family of Colonna, whose estates the pope had confiscated, boldly arrested Boniface at his summer residence at Anagni. After maltreating him, they imprisoned him in one of the apartments of the palace; but his adherents delivered him from their hands, and he retired to Rome, where he died, A.D. 1303.

From the death of Boniface, the court of Rome will be found husbanding its strength, concentrating its resources: no longer provoking the hostility of kings and emperors, but fighting only on the defensive. A few pontiffs may, perhaps, be found setting forth the claims of Gregory, Innocent, and Boniface; but their efforts appear puny and weak, and dying with themselves.*

The life of Boniface's successor, Benedict XI., was too short to effect a reconciliation between the Holy See and the French crown. His successor, Clement V., was chosen by the influence of Philip of France; and the papal court was removed from Rome to Avignon (A.D. 1309), where it continued under his six successors for nearly seventy years, known from this fact in the history of the church, as the Babylonish Captivity.

Philip, having now come to an amicable understanding with the church, turned his attention to an object which has cast everlasting obloquy on his name. This was the suppression of the Knights Templars, an association founded (A.D. 1118) for the protection of pilgrims travelling towards the Holy Land. Afterwards, when Palestine was abandoned, and their services no longer required, they had altered the object of their institution to the support of the popes of Rome. Their immense wealth had long excited the envy and cupidity of the King of France. Their destruction was determined; and pretexts for dissolving the institution were easily found in their real and pretended corruptions and crimes. Having determined to suppress the order, Philip easily obtained the consent of his creature, Pope Clement V., to his design. On the 13th of October, 1307, James Molay, the grand-master of that order, with about one hundred and forty of his subordinate knights, was arrested in the temple at Paris; and on the same day similar seizures were made in every part of the kingdom. They were accused of idolatry, of blasphemy, and of pollutions too horrible to be named. In the absence of sufficient testimony to convict them of these crimes, their persecutors had recourse to the rack; and in their endeavours to torture their victims into confession, many murders were perpetrated. In Paris alone, thirty-six knights died upon the rack. This persecution continued for more than four years. At length, in March 1312, the council of Vienna decreed, and the pope confirmed the entire abolition of the order; Molay, the grand-master, and upwards of fifty others perished at the stake in Paris; in Senlis nine knights were burned on one funeral pile. The *specified* property of the Templars was conferred on their rivals, the Hospitallers; while the *residue*, far greater in amount, fell to the prince or king in whose territory it was found.

* Taylor. Proctor.

The heroism of the Templars in Palestine, in the palmy days of the order, is well illustrated by their conduct at the battle of Nazareth.

In 1187, when Jerusalem was threatened by Saladin, the Templars and Hospitallers took upon themselves its defence. They mustered but one hundred and thirty knights, and three or four hundred infantry, to oppose a Saracen army of seven thousand. The Christians, however, did not hesitate to attack the enemy at Nazareth; and, overwhelmed by superior numbers, they all perished on the field of battle, except the grand-master of the temple and two of his knights, who were fortunate enough to escape the general carnage.



SURVIVORS OF THE BATTLE OF NAZARETH.

England, in the meantime, had yielded as little respect to the papal mandates as France; and Boniface's attempt to regulate the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom was defeated by the firmness of Edward I. Edward had returned from the crusades with ideas of conquest tending rather to the advantage of his kingdom than to the deliverance of Jerusalem. The Welsh and Scotch had successfully defended their independence against the Saxon monarchs, but Edward determined to reduce them. With respect to Wales he was completely successful, and finally reduced that country to subjection. (A. D. 1283.)

On a disputed succession to the crown of Scotland, Edward being chosen umpire, placed John Baliol, one of the twelve claimants, on the throne, with the condition of feudal dependence on the English sovereign. (A. D. 1292.) This was followed by rebellion and war. The King of England crossed the Tweed with thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse, and speedily reduced the Scots to submission, and made Baliol a prisoner.

Edward was next engaged in a war with Philip the Fair of France (A. D. 1296), which was terminated in 1303 by the marriage of Philip's daughter, Isabella, to the heir of the English crown.

Meantime, the Scots had again risen in arms, under the conduct of the celebrated William Wallace, to be again defeated. The victory at Falkirk rendered Edward once more master of Scotland, and the gallant Wallace was cruelly put to death. Robert Bruce, the grandson of one of the former competitors for the crown, was now recognised by the Scots as their king; and war was declared anew. Edward was greatly exasperated, and prepared for a fresh invasion; but his expedition was terminated by his death on the frontiers

of Scotland, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. With his dying breath the king charged his son to prosecute vigorously the war with Scotland. (A. D. 1307.)

Edward II., however, leaving the war to be conducted by the Earl of Richmond, returned to England, and gave himself up to the direction of his favourites. The first of these, Piers Gaveston, incurred the hatred of the nobles and the people, and Edward was compelled to renounce him. His subsequent restoration to favour, in 1312, occasioned a new revolt, which terminated in the destruction of the favourite. Edward, reconciled with his barons, undertook the execution of his father's designs against Scotland, where Bruce had been successfully exerting his power. The victorious career of this great hero was crowned by the decisive battle fought in 1314, at Bannockburn. There the independence of Scotland was secured, and Bruce fixed on the throne by giving to the English the greatest overthrow that they had received since the Conquest. Further shame and misfortune awaited the English monarch. Hugh Despenser, or Spenser, a nobleman of high rank, had succeeded Gaveston in the affections of the king and the hatred of the barons. A revolt headed by the Earl of Lancaster was, however, suppressed; the earl was beheaded; and of his followers, fourteen bannerets and fourteen knights-bachelors were hanged, drawn and quartered, and one knight was beheaded. After this triumph young Spenser became haughty and arrogant, overbearing and cruel. This conduct of the favourite and the ill success of the Scottish war, again alienated the minds of the people from their king. On the 30th of May, 1323, Edward concluded a treaty for a suspension of hostilities with Bruce for thirteen years, and thus in fact, though not in express terms, acknowledged the independence of Scotland.

Spenser having presumed to control the revenue of the queen, she fled to the court of her brother, the King of France. From the Earl of Hainault she obtained two thousand men, with whom she sailed for England, with her son Edward, and landed in Suffolk, where she was soon joined by many of the nobles. Every one deserted the unhappy king, except Spenser and his father, the Chancellor Baldock, and a few of their retainers. Edward fled to Wales; but the people among whom he was born gave him up to his enemies, and he was confined a close prisoner in Kenilworth Castle. He was soon afterwards removed to Berkeley Castle, where he was murdered in a horrible manner. (A. D. 1327.) The fall of the king involved the destruction of his favourites.

Edward III. succeeded his father on the throne of England; but the administration of affairs was given to his mother, the Queen Isabella, during his minority.

Louis X. *le Hutin* (the Quarrelsome), succeeded his father, Philip the Fair, on the throne of France, A. D. 1314. He united the kingdom of Navarre, which he had inherited from his mother, to the crown of France. In

order to raise money for the necessary expenses of his coronation, Louis was obliged to make great concessions to the people of the disaffected provinces. He sold deeds and charters of emancipation to all who were willing to pay for them, liberated all the crown serfs, recalled the Jews, and redressed many of the alleged grievances of his father's reign. Louis died in 1316, after a reign of eighteen months.

After some delay, Louis was succeeded by Philip V., the Tall. Philip induced his brother-in-law, Edward II. of England, to renew his homage for the counties of Guienne and Aquitaine; he pursued, with the greatest rigour, all Jews, heretics, lepers, and sorcerers. He also published an ordinance, remarkable for its sagacity, containing rules of justice, administration, and finance; the most important of which declared the domain of the crown inalienable. Philip died on the 3d of January, 1322, leaving no son to succeed him on the throne.

His brother, Charles IV., surnamed the Fair, succeeded to the crown without opposition. Charles immediately offered himself as a mediator between the Count of Flanders and his subjects, who had imprisoned him in Bruges; and he succeeded in procuring the liberation of the count, on his promising to respect the liberties of the towns and corporations. Charles soon after became involved in a war with the English. He captured Guienne and Aquitaine. Queen Isabella concluded a peace on the part of Edward II., by which the King of England resigned his right to the French provinces to his son, the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward III. The queen then, as we have already seen, turning against her husband, invaded England, deposed Edward, and, it is probable, was the cause of his death. Charles reigned six years and one month, and died at Vincennes on the 1st of February, 1328. On the death of Charles IV., the first branch of the family of Capet became extinct; and the magnificent inheritance acquired by the arms and the policy of the descendants of Hugh Capet, was transmitted to Philip of Valois.*

The German empire requiring a chief whose firmness should rescue it from the anarchy into which it had fallen during the interregnum, but whose power might not be sufficient to alarm the suspicions of the electors, Rodolph of Hapsburg was selected as possessing those qualifications. Ottocar, the King of Bohemia, however, protested against his election, and refused to do him homage. He was therefore outlawed at the diet of Augsburg, and summoned to restore the Austrian provinces which he had unjustly acquired on the extinction of the house of Bamberg. In order to carry this sentence into execution, Rodolph formed an alliance with Ladislaus of Hungary, and secured Gregory X. to his interests. Ottocar, on his part, formed an alliance with those princes whose states lay contiguous to the hereditary possessions of Rodolph. This war, which broke out in 1275, continued, with but a short intermission, until 1278, when it was terminated by the death of Ottocar, at

* Pictorial France. Des Michels.



RODOLPH OF HAPSBURG.

ing a strong party against him, obtained from a diet of the empire, the deposition of his rival, and his own election.* Adolphus appealed to arms. The two armies met at Worms, in 1298, where Albert was completely victorious, and Adolphus fell mortally wounded.

Albert I. was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and he immediately began to take measures for the extension of the empire. He already meditated the reduction of Thuringia, Bohemia, and Holland, when he was called to Switzerland by a revolt of the sturdy mountaineers. The chief cities of Switzerland were originally imperial free cities. Albert wished to detach them from the empire, and unite them to his own province of Hapsburg; but they, regarding his proposal with suspicion, refused; upon which the emperor treated them with severity and cruelty. The insulting tyranny of his steward, Gesler of Bruneck, a haughty, overbearing nobleman, provoked the celebrated conspiracy of Grutli, in which the name of William Tell appears in all its glory.

Three men, Werner Stauffacher of Schwitz, Walter Fürst of Attinghausen, in Uri, and Arnold of Melchthal, in Unterwald, who, having all grievous cause for resentment, could depend with certainty on each other, met at midnight, on the banks of the Lake of Lucerne, and resolved to unite themselves and their friends in an attempt to free their beloved country.

Before the day fixed for their revolt arrived, the courage of the confederates was strengthened by the sympathy manifested by the people, in an occurrence which afterwards proved of some consequence to them. This was the celebrated incident of Tell's shooting the apple from the head of his son; with an arrow, at the command of Gesler, which was speedily followed by

the battle of Markfield. The objects of contention came into the possession of the emperor, who continued to increase his family domains until he aroused the suspicions of the great feudal retainers; so that, in 1290, when he attempted to secure the imperial crown to his eldest son, he no longer found the same ready compliance in the electors which he had hitherto experienced, and in the following year he died, frustrated of his highest hopes.

On his death, the electors of the empire, passing over his son, Albert of Austria, chose Adolphus of Nassau, emperor. This prince soon offended those by whose influence he was elected; and Albert, rais-

* This diet is remarkable as being the first, which took upon itself to dethrone an emperor, without consulting the pope.

the death of the tyrant, at the hands of the oppressed patriot. This circumstance inspired the people of the mountains with hope; and, accordingly, when they heard of the rising of the thirty-three, on New Year's day, they joined in it with earnestness.



THEIR success was so great that on the 7th of January, the people from the three cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwald met, took the ancient oath of confederacy, and declared themselves independent. Albert now marched against them, but all his efforts being unsuccessful, he was returning towards Hapsburg, when, on the 1st of May, 1308, he was murdered by his nephew, Duke John of Suabia.

On the death of Albert, the German princes elected Henry VII., count of Luxemburg, emperor. He acquired for his house, by marriage, the kingdom of Bohemia; and to indicate his right of superiority over the popes, fought his way to Rome, where he was solemnly crowned, and imposed a tribute on all the states of Italy. He died suddenly, a supposed victim of papal resentment.

Louis of Bavaria, and Frederic III. of Austria, were now both invested with the imperial dignity by opposite factions. Louis was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and Frederic at Bonn, (A. D. 1314.) A seven years' war ensued. While the two emperors struggled for supremacy in Germany, Frederic despatched his brother, the Duke Leopold, to reduce the Swiss to obedience. The duke advanced into Switzerland, and on the 16th of November, 1315, was attacked in the pass of Morgarten, and completely routed by the hardy mountaineers, who first broke his ranks by rolling huge stones down on his close columns, and then attacked him with their iron pointed clubs and halberds. The Swiss then renewed their ancient bond of union at Brunnen, and the emperor Louis, in several letters, confirmed their liberty. Five other cantons soon after joined the former three, and all the possessions of the house of Austria in Switzerland were soon conquered by the new republic.

In Germany, in 1322, by the skill and courage of Schweppermann, Louis's general, a great victory was gained at Muhldorf, over Frederic, who was taken prisoner, and confined in the fortress of Trausnitz. Three years afterwards, however, he was liberated by Louis, and associated with him in the empire.

This good understanding drew upon them the malice of Pope John XXII., and of Leopold, Frederic's brother. Leaving Frederic to govern Germany, and carry on the war against his brother, Louis entered Italy, and joined by all the Ghibelline princes forced the pope's legate to raise the siege of Milan. The pope excommunicated the emperor, but Louis pursued his course to Rome,

where he was crowned by Sciarra Colonna. A revolt of his soldiers, however, left him nearly powerless, and the intelligence of new troubles in his German dominions, obliged Louis to abandon Italy, and recross the Alps. (A. D. 1330.)

Frederic died in 1330, and Louis remained sole emperor until his death in 1347. This event prevented a civil war, which would have resulted from the election of a rival emperor, Charles IV. of Luxemburg, who became his successor. Charles added Brandenburg and Silesia to his dominions, and made many wise regulations for the government of Bohemia, paying less attention to the general concerns of the empire. In order to secure his coronation at Rome, on his visit to that city in 1355, Charles surrendered his supremacy over the papal dominions, renounced Padua and Verona to the Venetians, and appointed Galeazzo Visconti perpetual vicar of the empire in Lombardy. His coronation took place on Easter day, 1355. A diet of the empire, convened at Nuremburg in 1356, produced an edict, called from the seal of gold attached to it, the *Golden Bull*. This instrument determined the rights and privileges of the seven electors, fixed the order and form of imperial elections, and gave supreme power to the electors of the Palatinate and Saxony, in case of an interregnum. Charles established the university of Prague, modelled after that of Paris, and soon after died. (A. D. 1378.)

Charles's son and successor, Wenceslaus, followed the example of his father, and left the empire to take care of itself. His reign is remarkable only for the frequent seditions of his subjects, and for the attempt of Duke Leopold of Austria to enslave the Swiss, which was defeated by the victory at Sempach, gained by the devotion of Arnold of Winkelried, who, at the cost of his own life, broke the strong lines of the Austrians, and threw them into confusion. In this great battle, which was fought on the 9th of July, 1386, and which confirmed the freedom of Switzerland, the Duke Leopold perished, with six hundred and fifty-six counts, barons, and knights, and thousands of their vassals.

Wenceslaus was imprisoned by his subjects in Bohemia, in 1393, and deposed by the diet, seven years afterwards (A. D. 1400), and Robert, the elector palatine was chosen in his stead. Robert again attempted to restore the imperial power in Italy, but was defeated at Lake Garda; and dying in 1410, the empire again returned to the house of Luxemburg. Wenceslaus, who was still acknowledged by some of the princes, consented to resign his pretensions in favour of his brother, Sigismund, King of Hungary, who was then unanimously chosen by the electors.

It was expected that Sigismund, who brought many titles and dignities to the empire, would restore its ancient splendour and power. This, however, was in some measure prevented by the attacks of the Ottomans, and the religious war which broke out in Bohemia. The council of Constance, which was convened in 1414, only brought fresh discord and misfortune on the empire. The persecution and martyrdom of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, occasioned

a rebellion, against which Sigismund was unable to contend, until the council of Basle, in 1431, made the concessions required. The states submitted; those who still held out were defeated at Bohemischbroda, and in 1434, a treaty of peace was concluded at Iglau.

Sigismund died three years afterwards, having first given his daughter to Albert II. of Austria; who in 1438 succeeded his father-in-law in the empire, possessing at the same time in his own right, the coronet of Austria, and through his wife, the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. The imperial dignity henceforth continued in the house of Austria, until the failure of male heirs in that house in 1740.*



HE wars of the Guelfs and Ghibellines still continued to rend Italy. The former were supported by the pope, the kings of France, and the princes of the Angevin house of Naples; while the latter received some precarious and uncertain aid from the German emperors. Independent commanders of armed adventurers, known by the name of the Condottieri, proceeded to Italy, and hiring themselves to the highest bidder, desolated the whole country. After the death of Pope Clement V., in 1314, the rival parties of French and Italian cardinals strove more than two years in vain to elect a successor. The King of France at last assembled the cardinals at Lyons, and kept them shut up in close conclave, until they chose as pope, John XXII. Soon after,

a war between Louis and the pope was commenced, in the course of which they deposed and excommunicated each other. Louis procured the election of an anti-pope, who took the title of Nicholas V.; and if the avarice of the emperor, had not alienated from him the affections of the Ghibelline princes in Italy, he might have irretrievably crushed the power of Pope John. The anti-pope, deserted by his friends, was forced to surrender to John, who spared his life on the condition that he would appear in public with a rope around his neck, and ask the pardon of the pope and the public, for the evil he had done the church. (A.D. 1330.) He was then kept a close prisoner in the palace at Avignon, until his death, which happened about three years afterwards. It was about this time that John added the third crown to the pontifical tiara. The first crown worn by the popes, was sent by Clovis, King of France, as a present to St. John de Lateran, and was placed by Pope Hormisdas, about the year 515, upon his own head, over the cap which he usually wore. His successors, until Boniface VIII., wore the single crown; but that pontiff, on his dispute with

* Kohlrusch. Des Michels.

Philip of France, assumed a double crown, to signify his claim to the temporal as well as spiritual authority. John added the third crown, in which form it has been worn by all his successors. He died in 1334, and his successor owed his election to his promise not to reside at Rome.

Benedict XII. wished to restore peace to the church; but Philip of Valois compelled him to a different course of policy. Edward III., King of England, was preparing to assert his claim to the crown of France, and Philip feared that he would engage in his interest the Emperor of Germany; he therefore ordered Benedict to continue to harass and distress the empire. Benedict XII. thus suffered himself to become the tool of Philip of Valois. To prevent the German emperor from leaguering against him with Edward of England, Philip caused him to confirm the titles of the Lombard and other princes to the territories which they had usurped from the empire. His death, in 1342, placed upon the throne at Avignon, the ambitious and energetic Clement VI. Scarcely was he entered on the duties of his station, when he was involved in a quarrel with the emperor, in which he proved completely victorious.

Robert, King of Naples, dying about this time, left his kingdom to his eldest daughter, Jane, with an injunction to marry Andrew, son of the King of Hungary, whose family had an ancient claim to the Neapolitan crown. The marriage took place; but Andrew was soon after murdered, and Jane was suspected of having consented to the crime, as she immediately married again. Lewis, King of Hungary, the brother of Andrew, who had succeeded his father on the throne, advanced with an army to Naples, and revenged the murder by driving Jane and her husband out of the kingdom. (A. D. 1348.)

The emperor, in order the more effectually to chastise the Guelfs, united his arms to those of Lewis, and was, consequently, again deposed by the pope, who prevailed on some of the electors to nominate Charles of Bohemia, Marquis of Moravia, to the empire. (A. D. 1346.) The new sovereign being brought up at the court of France, promised to recognise all the claims of the papal court; but no real power was added to it, notwithstanding.

In the meantime, while the princes of Europe were gradually emancipating themselves from the tyranny of the popes, a remarkable revolution wrested Rome itself from their grasp. The eternal city still preserved some of her republican institutions; but the government hovered between an oligarchy and democracy, between the Guelfs and Ghibellines. At this juncture, Nicholas di Rienzi, the son of a miller, was sent with the ambassadors to Pope Clement to invite him to Rome. The pontiff refused to leave Avignon; and on the return of the embassy, Rienzi addressed the Romans in the capitol, exhibiting to them their deserted and miserable state, and painting in glowing colours, the happiness and prosperity of their ancient liberty. Such was the effect of his eloquence, that he was immediately declared tribune of the people, and invested with sovereign power. (A. D. 1347.) He degraded the

senators appointed by the pope, put to death several of the nobility who were convicted of oppression, and banished the Orsini, the Colonnas, and many other noble families, whose feuds were a constant source of confusion in the city. The messengers whom he sent to the several cities of Italy, informing them of the liberty of the Romans, were everywhere treated with respect; and he governed with such justice and moderation, that not only the Italian, but also foreign princes sought his alliance. He received embassies, with requests for his mediation, from Lewis, King of Hungary, and Jane, Queen of Naples; from the two emperors, Louis and Charles; and also a letter from the pope, at Avignon, commending his proceedings, and exhorting him to govern Rome in his name. Rienzi, disdaining to have any dependence on the pope, resolved to be absolute master in the city of the Romans. He obtained for himself the honour of knighthood, summoned the candidates for the empire to appear before him, declared Rome the metropolis of the world, and assumed the strange titles of Candidate Knight of the Holy Ghost, Severe and Merciful Deliverer of Rome, Assertor of the Liberties of Italy, Lover of the Universe, and August Tribune; which only proved his weakness and vanity, and eventually occasioned his ruin. Rienzi was excommunicated by the pope as a heretic and a mad enthusiast, the banished nobles returned to Rome, and the tribune fled to Naples, to Lewis King of Hungary. From thence he wandered to the court of Charles, who sent him to Avignon, where he was committed to prison by the pope.

In the meantime, a dreadful pestilence, desolating the whole of Southern Europe, compelled the King of Hungary to abandon Naples; and the death of the Emperor Louis leaving Charles without a rival, Clement resolved to take advantage of these circumstances, and extend his power in Italy. He restored Naples to Jane, who, in her turn, gave Avignon to the church. By ordering that the jubilee appointed by Pope Boniface VIII. should be celebrated more frequently than before, he gained the good will of the people of Rome, who were pleased with the wealth thus brought to their city. Dying in 1352, Clement was succeeded in the papal chair by Pope Innocent VI., who sent Nicholas Rienzi, with a legate, to Rome, to oppose the designs of Francis Baroncelli, who, following the example of Nicholas, had expelled the nobility, and taken the title of tribune. Rienzi was received with great joy, and again created tribune; Baroncelli was put to death, and the legate acknowledged. But the turbulent and active Romans soon grew weary of their former favourite, and Rienzi was murdered by the populace. Charles IV. soon after entered Rome, and by permission of the pope, was solemnly crowned. Weakly giving up his title to Italy, he was treated with great indignity by those who would otherwise have remained his firmest friends. Innocent VI. died in 1362, and was succeeded by Urban V.

Convinced that the residence of the popes at Avignon was injurious to the interests of the church, Urban sought to restore the papal court to Rome,

and being invited to that city by the Emperor Charles, he hastened to leave a place where he was subject only to insult and ridicule. He was received with great joy by the Italians. He soon after quarrelled with Peter, King of Castile; but afterwards accommodated all differences upon certain conditions not very honourable to the Holy See.



HE emperor entered Italy in 1368, at the head of an army of forty thousand men, and when the pope came forth to meet him, led the horse on which the pontiff rode, by the bridle, as far as the church of St. Peter. This spectacle, instead of gratifying the Romans, induced them to treat the emperor with so much contempt, that he soon returned to Germany. The pope, not finding his Italian subjects as obedient and docile as he wished, took the opportunity of the renewal of the war between France and England, to return to Avignon, where he died in December, (A. D. 1370.)

Gregory XI. was the successor of Urban. It was Gregory's policy to humble the Visconti, who were now masters of northern Italy. He entered upon a war for this purpose, during the continuance of which, the Florentines threw Romagna, La Marcha and Perugia, into a state of rebellion. The difficulties were at length accommodated, and the Romans gave up their liberty, on condition that the pope should remove from Avignon to Rome. (A. D. 1377.)

On his triumphant entry into Rome, the pope determined to take effective measures against heresies and innovation. He was prevented in this design by domestic troubles. His Italian subjects becoming refractory, refused to obey his edicts; and he determined to call a council, to take measures for averting the evils which he foresaw would fall upon the church after his death. The council was called and opened at Serazanæ; but Gregory died before they had time to produce any important result. (A. D. 1378.)

Upon the death of Gregory XI., the Italian prelates exhorted the cardinals to choose a Roman or Italian pontiff; otherwise they threatened them with an insurrection of the people. When the cardinals assembled to elect a successor, the common people surrounded the palace, raised a tumult, rung the alarm bells, and declared that unless the cardinals immediately chose a Roman or Italian pope, they would put them to death. In this emergency, the French cardinals named the Archbishop of Bari, who was remarkable for his modesty and humanity, and who they thought would abdicate the pontificate, on account of the force which had caused his election. But the archbishop soon convinced them of their error; he assumed the name of Urban VI., and obliged the cardinals to come to his palace, and perform the cere-

mony of his coronation. He even menaced several of them with punishment for their offences. Alarmed at his threats, the discontented cardinals fled to Anagni, where they declared his election void, warned all Christian sovereigns not to acknowledge him, and after excommunicating him, chose as pope Robert of Geneva, who took the title of Clement VII., and established his court at Avignon.

Queen Jane of Naples espoused the cause of Clement, and was therefore deposed by Urban, who crowned Charles of Durazzo, King of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem. Charles took possession of Naples, and Jane was captured and strangled in prison. She named as her heir, Louis of Anjou, who died while attempting to get possession of the throne. The contest for the Neapolitan throne was long protracted by the successors of the royal claimants.

Thus a violent schism arose in the church, by which all Europe was divided. Italy, Holland, Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Flanders, and England, declared their adherence to Urban; while Spain, Navarre, Scotland, Savoy, Lorraine, and France, supported Clement.

Many efforts to effect a réunion of the church having failed through the obstinacy of the rival popes, the cardinals deserted them both, called a general council at Pisa, and elected a third pope, who took the title of Alexander V., and immediately excommunicated the others with all their adherents. (A.D. 1409.) After Alexander died, his party chose John XXIII., who was imprisoned by the council of Constance until he resigned. The anti-pope, Gregory XII., soon after resigned; but Benedict XIII. retained his office until his death. His successor, Clement VIII., voluntarily abdicated, and the schism was healed, by the election to the papacy of Otho Colonna, a Roman noble, who took the title of Martin V. (A.D. 1417.)

During the disputes which had thus distracted the papal world, the writings and doctrines of the celebrated English reformer, Wicliffe, had been brought to the continent, (A.D. 1406), and there preached and translated into the vulgar tongue by John Huss, rector of the University of Prague. In compliance with the demand of the emperors of Germany, John XXIII. called a council at Constance, and bishops, ambassadors, and theologians, flocked thither from every part of Christendom. (November, 1414.)

On the emperor pledging himself for his safety, John Huss appeared before the council to defend the doctrine he taught. Sigismund was induced to forfeit his pledge, and Huss was thrown into prison, to be tried as a heretic. When, subsequently, John Huss, and his fellow-reformer, Jerome of Prague, were declared obstinate heretics, and burned at the stake, their friends in Bohemia, under the leading of the courageous Zisca, took up arms in the defence of civil and religious liberty, and heroically defended the truth, until the church at the council of Basle, by her politic concessions, obtained their submission to her authority.

The pontiff, alarmed at the reform threatened by the Council of Constance, had hastily dissolved that assembly; but he was constrained to call another,

which met under his successor, Eugenius IV., at Basle, in 1431. Besides the reformation of abuses, this council was commissioned to deliberate respecting the reunion of the Greek church, and other schismatic communions. The reformers pushed matters with such vehemence as to alarm the pontiff, who suspended the council, and convoked an assembly of the bishops at Ferrara, in 1431.

This exercise of the papal authority produced another schism; the dissentient members continuing their deliberations, and electing another pope under the name of Felix V. This rupture, however, was healed in 1449, as well by the prudence of Pope Nicholas V., as by the abdication of Felix V., the anti-pope. By the two recent councils, it was made evident to the kings and princes of the earth, that there was a higher power than the pope, to which they might carry their appeals, and the mere dread of which often procured concessions from the popes, which otherwise would never have been granted.*

The advancement of science, art and civilization, however, proved far more powerful enemies to the despotism of the popes, than the opposition of kings and councils. The labours of Roger Bacon in experimental science, the invention or great improvement of printing and engraving, and the reform in the Italian language effected by Petrarch, Dante, and Boccaccio, all served to emancipate the minds, and cultivate the understandings of men; while the invention of gunpowder, by reducing war to an exact science, rendered it far less destructive to human life than before. Hitherto the eastern ocean had been little known otherwise than by name, and the Atlantic was looked upon as a boundless expanse of sea, extending probably to the eastern shores of Asia. But the discovery of the polarity of the magnet, awakened a spirit of enterprise, which gave splendour and opulence to many cities of Europe, and a uniformly progressive impulse to commerce and manufactures.

Edward III. ascended the throne of England in the year 1327. Being only in his fifteenth year, the parliament appointed twelve persons to administer the government, as his privy council; but Mortimer and his mistress, the queen-dowager, contrived to usurp the whole sovereign authority. They surrounded the king with their creatures; and by their open criminal attachment, drew upon themselves the hatred of the whole nation. The Scots making irruptions into the north of England, the young king, glad of the opportunity to escape from the court, put himself at the head of the army, and marched towards the north. He soon came up with the enemy, who were commanded by the Earl of Murray and Lord Douglas; but though inferior in numbers, they were so advantageously posted on the banks of the Ware, that Edward feared to attack them. During the night, Lord Douglas, with about two hundred men, attacked the English camp, and penetrated to the royal tent; but Edward escaped, and they fought their way back with but little

* Taylor. Des Michels. Machiavel.

loss. The Scots soon after decamped secretly at midnight. A treaty, by which the independence of Scotland was acknowledged, was soon after (A.D. 1328) concluded by Mortimer; but the young king vowed vengeance on those who had caused him such disgrace.

Edward soon after put an end to the tyranny of Mortimer and his paramour. The favourite was surprised in the castle of Nottingham, condemned by the parliament which was then sitting, and executed at the Elms, near London. The queen was confined to her own house at Risings, where she passed the remaining twenty-seven years of her life.

Edward being now his own master, paid no attention to the treaty with Scotland signed by Mortimer, and declared war against David Bruce. At the same time he recognised as king of Scotland, Edward Baliol, the son of John Baliol, who had already renewed the war for the throne, but with little success. He therefore retired into England; and Edward marched north with a prodigious army, vanquished the Scots in the battle of Halidon Hill, and re-established Baliol on the throne. That prince professed homage and feudal service to the King of England, and made over to Edward, in return for the assistance which he had rendered him, a great part of Scotland. David Bruce fled from the kingdom with his wife; but the Scots, incensed at the concessions of their new king, rose in arms under the regents, and renewed the war. Three expeditions undertaken by Edward failed to establish the new king securely on the throne. A favourable opportunity for the renewal of hostilities was taken on the departure of Edward for a foreign enterprise, which gave greater scope to his ambition.



N the death of Charles IV. without male issue, the crown of France was claimed by Edward in right of his mother, Isabella, the daughter of Philip the Fair, and sister of the last three kings of France. Philip of Valois (VI.) took possession of the crown, however, as the cousin-german and nearest male heir of the late king.

Edward engaged in his cause the Germans, the old enemies of France, and the Flemings, who, under Artavelde, a brewer of Ghent, had revolted from their count. Nothing of any consequence, however, transpired until the year 1346, except a great naval battle, in which the French were defeated with the loss of two hundred and thirty ships, and thirty thousand men.* This victory was soon after followed by a truce for four years.

Edward resumed his wars with Scotland; and Philip, soon after his return to Paris, found himself involved in the famous quarrel of Blois and De

* Russell.

Montfort in Brittany. John de Montfort laid claim to that province; but as the daughter of an elder brother was alive and married to Charles of Blois, the king's nephew, Philip declared his nephew's wife the rightful heir, and a war ensued, during which De Montfort was taken prisoner, and confined in the Louvre. His wife Jane, the most extraordinary woman of her day, being roused by the misfortune of her husband from the domestic cares which had hitherto employed her, determined to support his falling fortunes. Having put the whole province in a posture of defence, she shut herself up in Hennebont, a town of great strength on the sea-coast, where she was besieged in the spring of 1342. She defended it with invincible courage, until Sir Walter Manny, and an English fleet, came to her rescue, and the French were compelled to retire. Jane, having thus called the English to her aid, successfully resisted her enemies, and opened the way for another invasion of France by Edward III. He landed at La Hogue, in Normandy, and ravaged the kingdom without opposition, up to the very walls of Paris. Philip, however, assembled a superior army, and compelled him to retire. Edward retreated until he reached the field of Cressy, where, being on ground where he could fight with advantage, he declared he would retreat no further. The battle was commenced by a charge from the French, but they were driven back and totally defeated. Philip lost thirty thousand of his forces, including two kings, eleven princes, eight bannerets, and twelve hundred knights. In this battle the English are said for the first time to have used artillery.

Edward the Black Prince, so called from the colour of his armour, though but fifteen years of age, commanded the English under his father the king, and performed prodigies of valour. His father, seeing his courage and success, would not rob him of any portion of his glory. "Tell him," said he, when informed that the prince was in great danger, "that he shall have no assistance. Let the boy win his spurs; he, and those with him, shall earn the whole glory of the day." Animated by these words, the prince fought more boldly still, and the French were thus completely defeated. Among the slain was the King of Bohemia. His crest, three ostrich feathers, with the motto "Ich dien," "I serve," was adopted by the Prince of Wales, and has ever since been borne by his successors.*

Edward next invested Calais, which, after a siege of eleven months, was obliged by famine to capitulate. (A.D. 1346, Aug. 4.) The surrender of the town gave occasion for an exercise of the generosity of the heroic English queen Philippa, who, with prayers and tears, interceded for the six self-devoted townsmen, who had given themselves up to Edward in order to save their city.

In 1348, that dreadful pestilence, known as the plague of Florence, ravaged France; and in 1350, Philip VI. died, at the age of fifty-eight. He was succeeded by his son, John II.

* Historical Prints.



EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE ENTERTAINING KING JOHN IN HIS CAPTIVITY.

While King Edward was thus engaged in France, the Scots, headed by their king, David Bruce, invaded England, but were met at Nevil's Cross, by the English army under Queen Philippa, and completely routed, with the loss of fifteen thousand men. He himself was taken a prisoner to London. (A. D. 1346.)

In 1356, the French were again defeated by the Black Prince. This battle was fought at Poitiers, the French army numbering sixty thousand, while that of the English amounted only to twelve thousand. Notwithstanding this inferiority, the English routed the French, and took their king prisoner. The generous character of the Black Prince here manifested itself. He conducted the French king to his tent, with the utmost respect. He himself served at his table during supper, and refused to take a seat beside his royal prisoner, declaring that, as a subject, he was too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of a monarch to assume such freedom.

Thus had the English twice gloriously defeated the French; but glory was their only reward. The treasury of England as well as that of France was now completely exhausted. The Black Prince captured town after town; but for want of the necessary means, he was unable to retain his conquests, and as soon as he turned his back upon any place, it was taken possession of by the dauphin, Charles, who had been constituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom by his father, and governed France during the king's captivity. In this way he recaptured St. Valois, Ponthieu, Rue, and Crotoy; so that in a little time nearly the whole of France was recovered from the conqueror.

Every calamity visited France during this disastrous war. Besides the disease already mentioned, Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, whom Philip had imprisoned, escaped from confinement, and rose in arms against the sovereign authority. The adventurers and mercenary troops, whom the truce which followed the battle of Poitiers threw out of employment, spread themselves over the defenceless country in search of plunder. The pope was assailed at Avignon, and compelled to redeem himself by a ransom of forty thousand crowns; and the peasantry of many districts, impatient of distress, and maddened by oppression, broke out into an insurrection. This was named the Jacquerie, from the contemptuous phrase, "*Jacques bon homme*," applied by the nobles to their serfs, and it was marked by all the horrors that attend a war when men, brutalized by tyranny and maddened by wrongs, wreak vengeance on their oppressors.*

The King of Navarre at length made peace with the dauphin; the revolt of the Jacquerie was suppressed by their destruction, and King John, becoming weary of his long confinement in England, concluded an infamous treaty, which was rejected by the dauphin, and a convocation of the states, in 1359. Edward thereupon besieged the city of Rheims, but was repulsed;

* Taylor.



RETURN OF KING JOHN OF FRANCE.

and the next year he was obliged to abandon the siege, and retreat towards Brittany. Peace was at length concluded by the treaty of Bretigny, which provided that Poitou, Guienne, Saintonge, and Limousin, should belong to the King of England—that Edward should renounce all pretensions to the crown of France, and to Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou—that John should pay four millions of golden crowns as ransom for himself and the other prisoners taken at Poitiers—and that hostages should remain in England, until the same should be paid. King John was set at liberty; but the hostages escaped to France, and the king returned to England, saying, that “*if good faith and loyalty were banished from the rest of the world, they ought still to be found in the*

hearts of kings." King John died a captive in 1364, and his son, Charles V., ascended the throne of France.*

The Prince of Wales, invested by his father with the sovereignty of the duchy of Aquitaine, alienated the hearts of his vassals by his exactions. The Gascons, therefore, appealed for protection to Charles V., who, as the liege lord of the Black Prince, summoned him to appear at Paris. The prince replied, that he would go to Paris, but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. The gallant prince, though greatly enfeebled by sickness, prepared to renew the war in the south of France, while his brother, the Duke of Lancaster, desolated the north-eastern provinces. The fortune of war, however, soon turned. Charles, rightly surnamed "the Wise," appointed the great captain, Du Guesclin, Constable of France. By his efforts, the Duke of Montfort, the firm friend of the English, was driven from his duchy; the English fleet was defeated off Rochelle; the Duke of Lancaster was unable to force the French to a battle; and to complete the misfortunes of England, the Prince of Wales was obliged by sickness to return to his native country, where he soon after died. His father did not long survive him. At King Edward's death in 1377, his grandson Richard II. came to the throne at the age of eleven years.

The weakness and indecision of Richard II., and the doubtful title of his successor, Henry IV., prevented the English from carrying on the war in France with any vigour; and the French king, Charles the Wise, advanced far in the expulsion of the English from France, and in the promotion of internal tranquillity. In the course of a few years, he succeeded in reconquering many provinces from the English; the feudatories of Upper Gascony transferred their allegiance to him; and he expelled the Duke of Brittany from his duchy, and the King of Navarre from nearly all his Norman possessions. Securing by marriage the succession of his brother, Philip of Burgundy, to Flanders, he attached that country to France. He carefully preserved the friendship of the emperor Charles IV. of Germany, and of his brother-in-law, Galeazzo Visconti, Master of Lombardy, and held the pope in complete dependence on him at Avignon.

In his wars Charles had been ably seconded by his constable, Du Guesclin, a man of great military knowledge and decision. He, however, had died, while besieging the small castle of Randon; and now, when an English army again entered France, its movements were watched with uneasiness by the king, who was himself surprised by death in 1380, leaving the dauphin Charles, eleven years of age, under the guardianship of his uncles.

The English having long been commercially connected with Flanders, on the annexation of that country to the duchy of Burgundy, they thought that, by concluding a separate treaty, the neutrality of the Burgundian duke

* Bonnechose. Russell. Pictorial France.



BATTLE OF AZINCOUR.

would be secured to them in case of another invasion of France. Relying upon the promises of the duke, Henry V., in 1414, formally demanded the crown of France; and the next year, he landed in Normandy, and took the town of Harfleur. Henry lost so many men before this place, that he was obliged to retreat before the French towards Calais. Having at last arrived at a favourable position, near the town of Azincour, he halted, and prepared to face the pursuing enemy, though he knew them to be three times as numerous as his own army. The French commander D'Albret attacked him furiously. The nature of the ground, however, prevented him from availing himself of his immense superiority of numbers; and the English gained a complete and brilliant victory. The French lost in this engagement seven princes, the high constable, and eight thousand gentlemen killed. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many other nobles and soldiers were made pri-

soners.* In the midst of the fight, Henry was seen astride the fallen body of his brother Clarence, beating off the assailants. The stroke of a battle-axe brought him to his knees, and a similar blow directly afterwards cut through the corner of his casque; but the assailant was instantly slain as he was in the act of calling out to Henry, "I surrender myself to you; I am the Duke of Alençon." The battle closed with the fall of this great chief.

At Dover the English actually rushed into the sea, to meet their returning victorious king, and bore him on their shoulders to the shore. As he rode towards London, never was such enthusiasm, such rapture, such boundless and passionate love beheld as everywhere welcomed him. They rejoiced the more



HENRY V. ENTERING LONDON.

in his modesty in not allowing his broken casque and bruised arms to be carried before him.

The progress of the English in France was, for four years, almost uninterrupted. At the end of that time (A.D. 1419), Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, to avenge his father's murder, offered to place the crown of France on the head of Henry of England; and the queen, unnaturally hating her son, the dauphin, offered to Henry her daughter, Margaret, in marriage. These circumstances brought about the treaty of Troyes, by which the hand of Margaret was given to the English king, and he was declared regent of France, and heir to the insane Charles VI.

*Taylor. Bonnechose. Russell's France.



DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Accordingly, when the kings of both England and France died in 1422, Henry VI., who succeeded to the throne of England, was proclaimed as king throughout the northern provinces of France, and his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, was declared regent. In the southern provinces, however, notwithstanding the treaty of Troyes, Charles VII. was recognised as king on the death of his father. Deprived of his capital and of more than half of his kingdom, Charles, who held his court at Chinon, soon saw his stronghold of Orleans besieged by an immense English army; and even he, to whom the eyes of all France were turned, seems to have given up the hope of retrieving her sinking fortunes. A simple country girl achieved that which the King of France could not do. Joan of Arc overthrew the power of the English in France. She believed herself favoured with

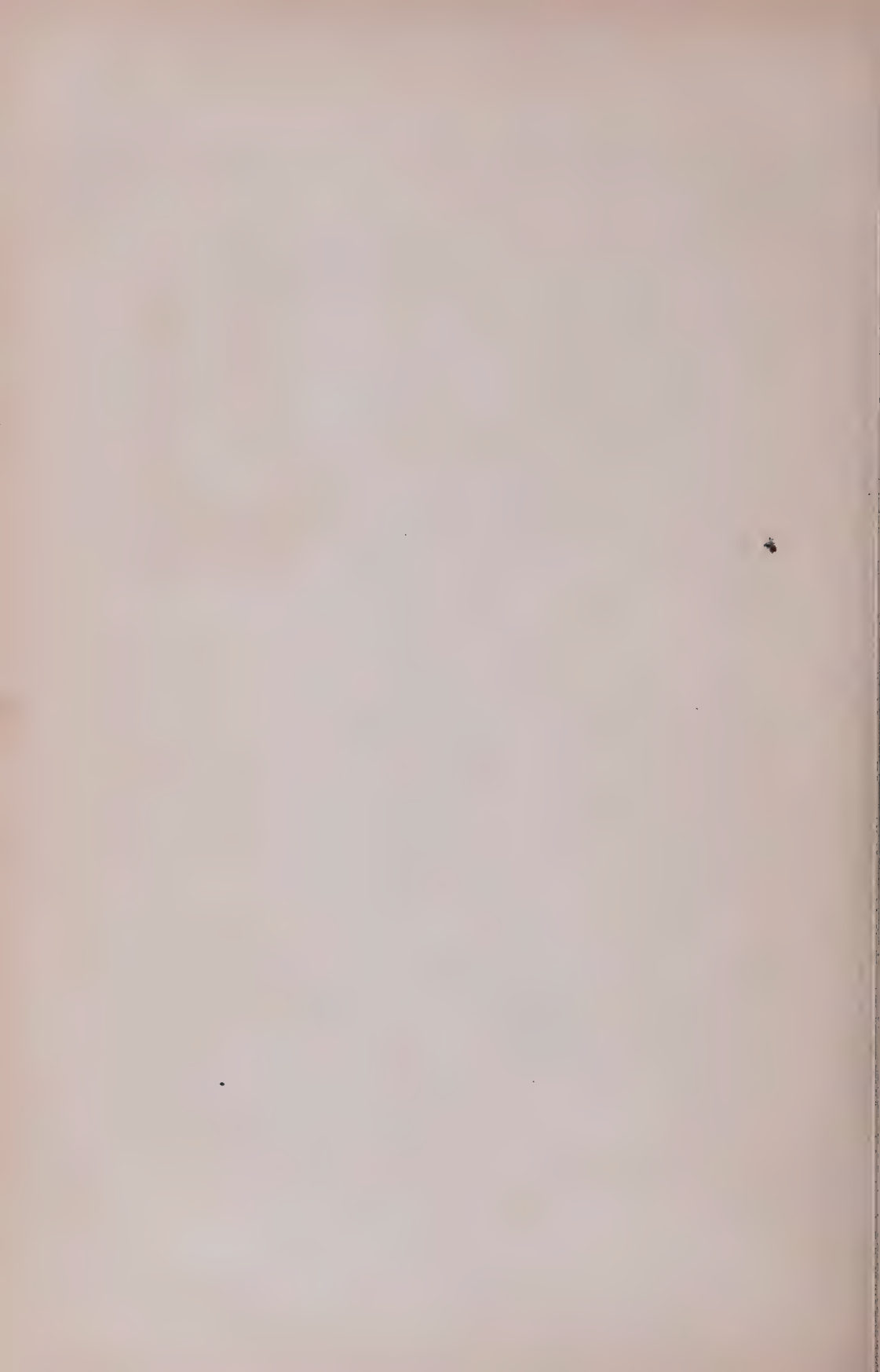
a supernatural commission from Heaven, to deliver her suffering country. Charles, on her being presented at his court, listened eagerly to her representations, clothed her with armour, placed her at the head of an army of devotees, and committed the cause of France to Heaven and to her. She advanced, raised the siege of Orleans, and from that time was surnamed "The Maid of Orleans." She then recovered town after town, and castle after castle; the English, overcome by a superstitious awe, retiring before her until they were cooped up in the single town of Calais. (A. D. 1449.) Charles was crowned at Rheims, and proclaimed king of all France. The Maid of Orleans, the deliverer of France, soon after fell into the hands of the Duke of Bedford, the English regent, by whom she was condemned to death, and burned at the stake as a heretic.

So many of the nobles of France had been slain in the terrible wars which desolated their country, that Charles VII. now found little difficulty in giving the government something of a despotic character, which his able and crafty successor, Louis XI., rendered complete and permanent. By adopting several of the decrees of the Council of Basle, Charles VII. secured the Gallican church from the future encroachments of the Holy See. These decrees were solemnly recognised in a national assembly held at Bourges, in 1443. They are known in history by the name of the Pragmatic Sanction.

Spain during this period was divided into several monarchies. The Moors held Granada with a firm hand, and the mutual jealousies and distrusts of the



JOAN OF ARC PRESENTED TO CHARLES VII.



Christian kings of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, prevented them from uniting their forces against the followers of the Prophet.

Alphonso XI., who, by his gallant defence of Tariffa against the combined forces of the kings of Granada and Morocco (A. D. 1340), had delivered his own frontiers, and acquired several important fortresses, left his throne, at his death, to his son, Peter I., the Cruel, a prince perfidious, debauched, and bloody. He began his reign by murdering all who stood between him and the objects of his passions: his father's mistress, his own wife, his natural brother, his cousin, and his nobles. His natural brother, Henry, Count of Trastamare, took up arms against him, but was compelled to fly into France. There Charles the Wise, equally anxious to avenge his murdered sister, and to be rid of the marauding companies, gave him permission to enlist them in his service, and Du Guesclin was employed to lead them. Peter the Cruel was by this means dethroned; but he was afterwards restored by Edward the Black Prince, who defeated Henry in a great battle, and took Du Guesclin prisoner. Peter proved ungrateful to his benefactor; Du Guesclin purchased his liberty; and a second war was commenced, by which the throne of Castile was secured to Henry. In the first interview with Trastamare, after his overthrow, Peter, though disarmed, rushed in a transport of rage against Henry, who slew him with his own hands, in resentment of his cruelties.

The weakness and debauchery of Henry IV., one of his descendants, occasioned a revolution in Castile. The majority of the nation rose in rebellion; an assembly of the nobles deposed the king, and a civil war commenced which was not ended until the death of the deposed sovereign (A. D. 1474), and the retirement of his daughter Jane (A. D. 1479) into a convent. During its continuance they had compelled him to settle the succession to the crown upon his sister Isabella, and had brought about a marriage of that princess with Ferdinand of Aragon. That kingdom had continued under a regular succession of princes for three hundred and thirty-nine years; and at the time of the accession of Ferdinand, in 1478, its commerce and maritime power had rendered it almost as important as Castile. The kings of Aragon had acquired the sovereignty of Sardinia, the Two Sicilies, the Balearic Islands, the county of Barcelona, and some other provinces in Catalonia. These two neighbouring kingdoms would probably have long struggled for the



CHARLES VII.

supremacy of Spain, had they not been united by the marriage of the two heirs, Ferdinand and Isabella.*

We now return to the affairs of England. As we have already stated in our notice of the affairs of France, Edward III., King of England, in 1377, was succeeded by his grandson, Richard II., the infant son of the Black Prince. During the young king's minority, the government was vested in the hands of his uncles of Gloucester, York, and Lancaster, who troubled the kingdom by their ambitious contentions. The expensive wars carried on by the late king had exhausted the treasury, and an inequitable tax of three groats was imposed on every person above fifteen years of age for the purpose of replenishing it. This tax, falling as heavily on the poor as on the rich, excited the most violent commotions. The inhumanity and brutality of the tax-gatherers inflamed these combustible materials; and one of them, by his brutal insolence, so incensed a blacksmith, named Wat Tyler, that he struck him dead with a blow of his hammer. The spectators applauded the act; and animated by a preacher, who maintained that every one had an equal right to all the goods of nature, they flew to arms, and the whole of Essex was soon in a state of open rebellion. Tyler, at the head of one hundred thousand men, after committing the most horrible excesses, burning the palace



RICHARD II.

of the Duke of Lancaster, and murdering the primate, the chancellor, and many others high in office, met the young king in Smithfield. During the conference, the insolence of the blacksmith so offended Sir William Walworth, the Lord Mayor of London, that he struck him to the ground with his mace, where one of the king's attendants despatched him with his sword. Seeing their leader fall, the mutineers prepared for revenge; but the young king, with admirable presence of mind, in a few words addressed to them, turned them from their purpose, and promising to grant their demands, put an end to the rebellion.

This act gave great promise of spirit and decision of character, which the subsequent conduct of Richard did not realize. His misgovernment provoked a revolution, which was commenced by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, at a time when Richard was engaged in Ireland. He speedily acquired possession of the kingdom; and such was the spirit of disaffection that, though Richard brought twenty thousand men from Ireland, all but six thousand

* Taylor. Mavor. Froissart



DEATH OF WAT TYLER.

joined his opponent. This small force only exposed him to danger, and he therefore secretly retired from their presence, and attempted to fly to France or Ireland. But the Duke of Northumberland treacherously succeeded in getting possession of his person, and delivered him to Henry. He was conducted to London by Henry, who was there received with the acclamations of the multitudinous populace.

It is pretended that the recorder met him on the road, and in the name of the city entreated him, for the public safety, to put Richard to death, with all his adherents who were prisoners; but he had no such harsh designs against his unfortunate relative. He summoned a parliament, at which the deposition of Richard was read and accepted amid shouts of joy from the assembled people without.

Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, claimed the vacant throne, as the lineal descendant of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III. Henry of Lancaster, however, whose father was the third son of Edward, was the favourite of the people and the master of the parliament, and claimed the throne by right of merit. He was proclaimed king under the title of Henry IV. (A.D. 1399); and the unfortunate Richard dying soon after, he was for a time secure in the possession of the crown. The Mortimer claim was afterwards vested, by marriage, in the Duke of York, descended from the fourth son of Edward. Many of the nobles becoming discontented with the government of Henry, rebelled, and again threw the country into a civil war. The Percies, who headed this rebellion, were completely defeated at Shrewsbury in 1403; but their ally Owen Glendower, a descendant of the ancient princes of Wales, long showed his hostility to the House of Lancaster,



ENTRY OF HENRY IV. INTO LONDON.

by making continual irruptions into the kingdom. Henry IV. commenced the persecution of the Lollards, as the followers of Wicliffe were termed, and the parliament passed a law condemning all heretics to the flames.

Henry V. succeeded his father on the throne. (A. D. 1413.) By judicious reforms, and acts of favour towards the domestic enemies of his house, he secured the tranquillity of England; and then renewing the claims of Edward to the crown of France, he invaded that kingdom, gained the victory at Azincour, took possession of Paris, and died in France, in the midst of victory, in the year 1422; leaving as his heir, his son Henry, then only nine months old.

With the death of Henry V. the good fortune of the English in France ceased; and they were soon expelled from all their continental possessions, with the exception of the single town of Calais. (A. D. 1443.) These losses alienated the affections of the nation from the House of Lancaster, and this growing dislike was greatly increased by the incapacity of Henry, the preference shown by him to his ambitious favourites, and the haughtiness of his Queen, Margaret of Anjou. At this crisis, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, in whom centred the rights of the House of Mortimer, and who consequently possessed a better title than Henry, now laid claim to the crown. Encouraged by a large body of the nobility, and the commons in general, he took up arms and commenced a civil war which deluged England with blood. The ensign of the Yorkists was a white rose, that of the Lancastrians a red

rose, and the struggles which ensued are known as the "Wars of the Roses." (A. D. 1454.)

In the battle of St. Albans, five thousand of the Lancastrians were slain, and the king was taken prisoner by the Duke of York, May 22, 1454. The spirit of the queen reanimated the Lancastrians, who soon drove the Duke of York to Ireland. His cause, meantime, was secretly maintained in England, by the Earl of Warwick. In the battle of Northampton, the Yorkists again prevailed, and Henry was once more brought prisoner to London, while the dauntless queen still nobly exerted herself to retrieve his fortunes. York now claimed the crown in open parliament, but prevailed only to have his right of succession ascertained on Henry's death, to the exclusion of the royal issue. In the next battle the Duke of York was slain, and his party defeated; but his successor Edward, supported by Warwick, avenged



RICHARD DUKE OF YORK.

this disaster by a signal victory at Towton, in which forty thousand of the Lancastrians were slain. York was proclaimed king by the title of Edward IV.

Edward proved ungrateful to Warwick, and forced him to join the Lancastrians. A restoration of Henry VI. was the consequence, and Warwick gained the title of King-maker. Henry VI. was liberated from the Tower of London, where he had been a prisoner (A. D. 1470), and restored to the sovereignty, while Edward fled to the continent. But this change was of no duration. Edward returned, and defeated the Lancastrians in the battle of Barnet, where the brave Earl of Warwick was slain, 1472. Edward IV. died in 1483, leaving two sons, the elder, Edward V., only thirteen years of age. He was proclaimed king, and his uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was chosen protector and defender of the realm, by the privy council, and subsequently by parliament. A conspiracy against the life of the protector having been entered into by Lords Hastings, Rivers and Grey, they were arrested and executed. The offspring of Edward IV. were declared illegitimate, on the ground that their father had a wife living at the time of his



RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.



HENRY VI. RELEASED FROM THE TOWER.

marriage with their mother. The citizens of London tendered the crown to the protector; Edward V. was formally deposed by the legislature, and Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was proclaimed king, by the title of Richard III.

The character of Richard III. has been grossly misrepresented by different writers under the influence of the House of Tudor. He has been charged with murdering Henry VI., the Duke of Clarence, Edward IV., and his children. The poetry of Shakspeare, and the prose of many historians, have united in representing him as a perfect monster of iniquity; but the "Historic Doubts" of Horace Walpole, and the recent biography of Richard III. by Miss Halsted, have furnished abundant evidence of his innocence of these crimes, and of his abilities and justice as a sovereign. His views of national policy were too enlightened for the turbulent nobles of that stormy period in the history of England. They entered into a conspiracy with the Earl of Richmond, the surviving heir of the House of Lancaster, who, aided by Charles VIII. of France, landed with an army in England, gave battle in the field of Bosworth to Richard, who was entirely defeated and slain, while fighting with the most heroic courage, Aug. 22, 1485. The crown which had surmounted his helmet in the engagement, was immediately placed on the head of the conqueror, and he was proclaimed king, with the title of Henry VII. His subsequent marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., united for ever the rival houses of York and Lancaster, in the House of Tudor.

The bloody disputes concerning the succession in Scotland, were finally terminated by the transfer of the crown to the family of the Stuarts in the person of Robert II. Under this prince and his successors, the turbulence of the nobility was restrained by judicious enactments, and the royal authority so extended as readily to enforce the laws.



HENRY VII. CROWNED ON BOSWORTH FIELD.

For many ages the Scandinavian and Slavonian states are only known to history as the seat of continued petty wars and barbarian incursions. The expeditions of the piratical Northmen first introduced them to the more civilized portions of Europe. Christianity, with its accompanying elements of civilization, was gradually introduced into these distant lands by the intercourse of the Germans with the Swedes, and of the latter with the Danes and Norwegians. The intestine wars which harassed them, however, were not composed until the time of the great Queen Margaret, "the Semiramis of the North." Valdemar IV., of Denmark, left his kingdom to his daughter Margaret, the last descendant of the house of Odin. Albert of Mecklenburg having been elected to the throne of the Swedish states, to the exclusion of Hakon, the deposed sovereign came to Denmark and married the queen, Margaret. His subjects becoming dissatisfied with Albert, Margaret marched into Sweden, defeated Albert, and made him prisoner, in 1395. This victory was followed by the diet of Calmar, by which, in 1397, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were united into one state. But the Swedes, after the great queen's death, became dissatisfied with the union; and when King Christopher VII. died without issue, they separated from the confederacy, and chose for a sovereign one of their native nobles, Charles VIII. The Danes elevated Christian

I., Count of Oldenberg, to their throne, which has ever since been retained by his family.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the whole of the Russian provinces were under the domain of the Mongols, while the most western were also subjected to the ravages of the Poles. The Teutonic knights made a diversion in their favour, but the war was finally ended by the treaty of Thorn, under which the Poles acquired a considerable accession of Russian territory. (A. D. 1466.) Casimir the Great, King of Poland, wished, as he had no children, to secure the succession to his nephew, Louis of Hungary. He effected his object; but the nobles seized the occasion to render the throne elective, and restrict the royal authority. On his death, Jagellon, Duke of Lithuania, was chosen to the throne. (A. D. 1382.) He renounced Paganism, and established Christianity in his hereditary dominions.*

The Ottoman Empire may be said to have commenced, in Asia Minor, about the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Mogul sultan, Gela-leddin, perished, and his army was scattered. That army was composed of many Turkish hordes, which, on the death of the great leader acknowledged by them all, separated, and followed each its own independent chieftain. One of these hordes followed Soliman Shah towards Iconium. Soliman was drowned in crossing the Euphrates, and his son Orthogrul, with about four hundred families, became the subjects and soldiers of Aladin, Sultan of Iconium. His son Othman, in 1299, invaded the territory of Nicomedia, and finally established himself in its fortified towns and castles. His son Orchan, in 1326, compelled Prusa, the ancient capital of Bithynia, to surrender; and from that event we may date the true era of the Ottoman Empire.

Soliman, the son of Orchan, one day left the encampment of his tribe, and rode along the shores of the Hellespont, passing on through the ruins of ancient cities, and fell into a silent reverie. "What is my khan thinking of?" said one of his escorts. "I am thinking," was the reply, "about our crossing over to Europe." They did cross over; and Soliman laid the foundation of the Turkish power in Europe by conquering Gallipolis. (A. D. 1358.) Soliman's brother, Amurath I., captured Adrianople (A. D. 1360), and continued his conquests until his death, on the bloody field of Cossova.

His successor, Bajazet I., threatened both Europe and Asia. He conquered all the tribes from the Euphrates to the Danube; and Eastern Europe was prostrated at the great battle of Nicopolis, where the valiant emperor defeated an army of a hundred thousand men, and became master of all the Eastern Empire except Constantinople.

But another savage stronger than himself was destined to be the conqueror of Asia. Tamerlane was the son of a Turk of Zagatai, of the kingdom of Transoxiana. This, his native country, was, during his infancy,

* Taylor.



TURKISH ENCAMPMENT.

invaded and conquered by an army of Getes or Calmucks, under a khan of Kashgar. The young Tamerlane soon stood forth as the deliverer of his country; and, in 1370, his grateful countrymen invested him with the imperial command, and declared him Emir of Zagatai. In about thirty years from that time, this great Tartar conquered Persia, Turkestan, or Eastern Tartary, Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circassia, Russia, and Hindostan; thus extending his empire from the Wall of China to the Mediterranean Sea, and from India to Russia. His determination to wrest Syria and Anatolia from Bajazet, compelled the latter to abandon the siege of Constantinople. Timour invaded Syria (A. D. 1400), and in quick succession sacked the cities of Aleppo, Damascus, and Bagdad. Then turning towards Anatolia, he laid siege to Angora. There, in 1402, he was overtaken by Bajazet, who gave him battle in the plains around the city. This engagement continued a whole day, and thousands on both sides fell by the edge of the sword; but, while displaying the utmost efforts of valour, Bajazet was defeated and made prisoner, and in less than a year he died in the camp of his conqueror. Tamerlane, not content with his vast possessions, but aspiring to the conquest of the whole world, next prepared an immense army for the invasion of China; and had actually advanced, on that expedition, as far as Otrar, three hundred miles from the capital, when he fell a victim to fever and fatigue, and perished in the seventieth

year of his age, thirty-five years after he ascended the throne of Zagatai. (A.D. 1405.) His empire was dismembered after his death; but upwards of a century afterwards (A.D. 1526), one of his descendants established, in Northern India, the empire of the Great Moguls, which subsisted almost to our own times.

Fifty years after the defeat of Bajazet, Constantinople fell before the arms of one of his successors, Mohammed II. The sway of the cities on the coast of the Black Sea and the Adriatic was insufficient for the ambition of this enterprising ruler. He built a fleet, and began to conquer the islands of the Ægean in quick succession. Apulia was visited by his troops, and his career of victory threatened to be boundless. Christendom was filled with alarm, and Pope Pius II. convened a council at Mantua, resolving to preach a crusade against the Turks, and to lead it in person. His death at Ancona (A.D. 1464) cut short his project, and Mohammed was allowed to establish and consolidate his empire. When the first outbursts of fanatical rage were passed, he granted protection to his Christian subjects, and restored to Constantinople much of its ancient splendour.*

In the meantime, during the greater part of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the states of Italy were continually at war with each other. About the year 1347, a battle was fought between the Venetian and Genoese fleets, in which the latter were completely defeated; but, seven years afterwards, the fleets of the two rival cities again met, and the Venetians were in their turn defeated. Their commander, Pisano, and five thousand of his men, were made prisoners; above twenty of their galleys were sunk; and had Doria, the Genoese admiral, followed up his victory and attacked their city, it would probably have been reduced to a Genoese province. Doria, however, returned to Genoa, and the Venetians hastened to conclude a truce.

War again broke out in 1378. Forty ships were equipped by the Venetians, and the command given to Victor Pisano, who, in 1380, attacked the Genoese squadron, under Ludovico Fiesco. As the hostile fleets approached each other, the sky was darkened by a cloud of arrows; but this mode of attack was soon laid aside—the galleys grappling, and then being chained to each other in such a manner that the soldiers found it necessary to conquer or die. Thus, with their swords and spears, they fought a kind of land-battle on sea, in which, there being little room to dispute the victory, the slaughter was prodigious. It continued for two hours, when the Genoese were obliged to yield to the bravery of the Venetians. Although the son of Pisano was among the slain, and the victory was a bloody one, yet the capture of the Genoese admiral, with his whole fleet, caused the loss to be overlooked. Pisano gloried in the death of his son. The good fortune of the Venetians, however, did not continue long; Pisano fell into an ambuscade laid by

* Ranke. Taylor.

the enemy; and though he defended himself with almost supernatural courage, he was defeated by the Genoese. For this ill success, he was soon after recalled by the doge and senate, and thrown into prison. The Genoese, encouraged by his absence, captured Caorli, Grada, Palestrina, Chiozza, and even laid siege to Venice. The common people then rose in open insurrection, threatened the doge and senate, and refused to enlist themselves for the defence of the city until Pisano was set at liberty. Their desire was complied with; the siege of Venice was soon raised, the Genoese were defeated, and peace was concluded.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century, war again broke out between the Venetians and the Genoese, and a dreadful battle took place between the hostile fleets, in which the victory was gained by a skilful manœuvre of Zeno, the Venetian commander. The Genoese lost near three thousand men; four of their ships were sunk and three taken. (A.D. 1403.) About the same time the Genoese were defeated on land, with great slaughter, by Sabello the Venetian general. Verona and Padua were soon after taken, and Venice attained her meridian power and prosperity.

War was next declared by Venice against Milan. Carmagnola, the Venetian general, was met at Sama by Philip Visconti, Duke of Milan, (A.D. 1427.) The battle commenced at noon, and at night no advantage had been gained by either side. In the evening a storm of wind arising, drove before it such a cloud of dust, as rendered it impossible for the soldiers to distinguish each other. An advanced party of the Milanese, thinking to retire out of the confusion, found themselves in the middle of the Venetian camp, where they were made prisoners. At last both generals ordered a retreat to be sounded, each claiming the victory. The Milanese, however, were soon after defeated. Four years afterwards (A.D. 1431), the army of Carmagnola suffered a signal defeat. War was carried on between these two powers until 1450, when Venice and Milan, wearied with their long struggles, would have concluded a peace, had not their reconciliation been prevented by Sforza, who had formerly been the general of Philip Visconti, but had changed sides. He now declared war against both powers; but the Milanese, murdering the Venetian ambassador, declared Sforza their prince, and immediately renewed the war against Venice.

It was towards the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century that the family of Medici arose in Florence. In the middle of the latter century, Cosmo de Medici was the most powerful person in the city; and having many friends and partisans, he found it easy to maintain his power. In 1464, however, he died universally lamented. His authority and estate, his liberality, his prudence, and his success, made him a prince in his country, beloved and feared by the citizens, and much esteemed by all the princes of Europe. He greatly advanced the glory of his country by patronizing learning and learned men. On his tomb was inscribed the title of "Father of his Country."

He was succeeded in the government by his son Peter, who, after a turbulent administration of about six years, was followed by his sons Lorenzo and Giuliano. These princes had not long been promoted to this dignity, when a conspiracy was formed against them by Pope Sixtus IV., aided by the family of the Pazzi, at that time (A. D. 1477) the second in Florence. Giuliano was murdered; but Lorenzo escaping, caused the conspirators to be punished, and retained the government. The war with the pope and the King of Naples was ended by the able negotiations of Lorenzo; but he was no sooner freed from one war than he was involved in another, and the disturbances with the Venetians and the Genoese diverted his attention until he died, towards the end of the century, at the age of forty-four years. (A. D. 1492.) This great man was surnamed "The Magnificent," and resembled his grandfather, Cosmo, in all his public and private virtues.

In the meantime, the papal power was hastening to its downfall. After the severe checks it received at the Councils of Constance and Basle, the pontiffs took a less conspicuous part in the general politics of Europe than in former times.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the commerce of Europe continually advanced in importance. Venice, by her victories over Genoa and other Italian cities, secured to herself the trade of the south and of India. By means of her treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, in 1343, Venice supplied the greater part of Europe with silks, spices, and the other commodities of India. In the north, the Hanseatic confederation, numbering, in the early part of the fifteenth century, eighty towns, possessed the exclusive commerce of the Baltic Sea, and carried to the markets of Bruges the produce of the unexplored north. The progress of trade, and the intercourse thus effected between remote nations, naturally excited a love for maritime and inland discovery, which soon produced important consequences. As early as the ninth century, the Scandinavian pirates accidentally discovered the Feroe Islands, and soon after they reached the north-eastern coast of America, and gave it the name of Vinland.

Among the nations which now engaged in foreign discoveries, Portugal stands pre-eminent. In the early part of the fifteenth century, Henry, the son of John I., King of Portugal, devoted most of his time to the study of astronomy, and the progress of maritime discovery. Under his auspices the western coast of Africa was explored as far as Cape de Verde, and the Cape de Verde Islands and the Azores were discovered. Prince Henry died in 1481, having first obtained a bull from the pope, investing the crown of Portugal with sovereign authority over all lands which might be discovered in the Atlantic, including India. During the reign of King John II., an expedition sailed from Lisbon, under the command of Bartholomew Diaz, who, in 1483, actually discovered the long-sought promontory, the southern point of Africa. A terrible storm prevented him from doubling it and prosecuting his researches,

and he returned to Portugal, naming the headland, the "Cape of Tempests." King John, however, changed the name to that of the "Cape of Good Hope." The discovery of America, in 1492, diverting maritime research into another channel, it was not till 1498 that Vasco de Gama, having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, reached India, and dropped his anchor in the harbour of Calicut.



MOORISH ARCHITECTURE—CHURCH OF THE DOMINICANS AT CATALAYUD, SPAIN.

In 1484, the sovereigns of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, were engaged in a war of extermination against the Moors. They had entered the Moorish dominions at the head of a numerous army, and captured the cities of Malaga, Baza, Guadix, and Almeria. All communication with Africa was

cut off; and the city of Granada, the last remaining stronghold of the Moslems in Spain, was invested by the Christian forces. After a siege of eight months, during which it was reduced to the greatest distress, the place surrendered, on condition that the inhabitants should retain possession of their houses and inheritances, and enjoy the exercise of their religion; and that the king, Abdallah, should receive the revenues of some fertile territories in the mountains of Alpujarras. Thus the important fortress of Granada, after having been held by the Moors nearly seven hundred and eighty years, was again brought under the power of the Christians, and the banner of the cross and the standards of Castile and Aragon, were triumphantly displayed on the towers of the Alhambra.

Thus ended the empire of the Arabs in Spain, after a duration of eight hundred years, during which they had introduced a degree of civilization and refinement unknown to the rest of Europe, and which Spain would never have enjoyed, but for the Moorish domination. The remains of their architecture still found in Spain, afford sufficient evidence of the high degree of perfection in the arts and science to which they had attained.

After the conquest of Granada, the sovereigns of Spain fitted out the expedition of Columbus, who, in 1492, effected the discovery of the New World. The Spaniards, however, paid but little attention to the colonization of the newly discovered countries; and though the Dutch, the English, the French, and the Portuguese all attempted to plant colonies in America, yet it was not until the time of Elizabeth that any regular plan was formed to colonize the New World. All the commercial nations of Europe emulated the Spaniards and Portuguese in the discovery of new lands, till in 1521 Magellan circumnavigated the globe, and seemed to put an end to all further discoveries. From that time the great nations of the earth directed their attention to the improvement and colonization of the lands already discovered. The naval power of Europe was increased; manufactures everywhere multiplied, and states, which before were poor, became suddenly rich; while some of those which have hitherto claimed much of the attention of the historian, dwindled down into insignificance, and will be hereafter but seldom mentioned. Commerce now began to take the place of warlike enterprises in the minds of sovereigns; and the policy of governments, and the discovery of America, brought about a great revolution in the aspect of nations.*

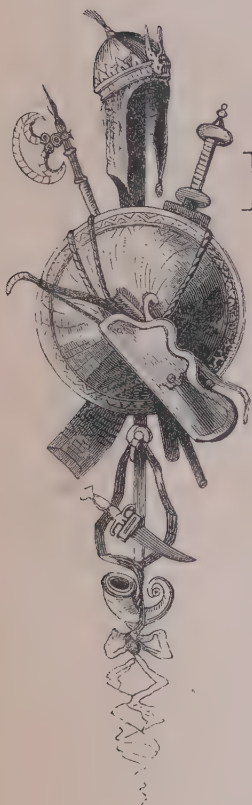
* Taylor. Mavor.



CAVES OF ELLORA.

CHAPTER VIII.

India.



FROM the complete state of civilization in which the inhabitants of the great tract of country which we call India, were found by Alexander the Great at the time of his invasion, it is probable that their civilization reaches back more than a thousand years before the Christian era. The institution of *caste* renders it also probable that the Hindoos are of a mixed extraction; and their traditions, records, and monumental remains point to the neighbourhood of the Ganges as the cradle of the race, which, highly civilized, immigrated from north to south. There is great reason to suppose that the first settlers were a company of priests, from whom descended the powerful order of Bramins, who established their religion with a form of government constituted by themselves, and gained an ascendancy over the barbarian natives by the influence of superior learning. The period of their arrival is unknown, and the land of their extraction has never been ascertained. The Bramins, like the priests in Egypt, exercised an indirect sovereignty over all the other classes of society; and though the kings in both countries were selected from the warrior caste, their prerogatives were fettered by institu-

tions which laid all affairs open to the cognizance of the priests. The persons of the Bramins were held so sacred that they could not lawfully be put to death even for the greatest crimes; whilst any person who injured a Bramin was punished with greater severity than for any other offence. The second caste was that of the Kshatriya, or warriors, which comprehended all the soldiers and rulers of the country; kings, princes, and magistrates. The great mass of the people were included in the third class, the Vaisyas, which comprised all husbandmen, merchants, and all artisans and mechanics, except those who belonged to the fourth class, the Sudra or servile caste, composed of servants and labourers. No changes could lawfully be made from one caste to another, nor could the son pursue any other avocation than that of his father.

Their religious rites were conducted with unsurpassed magnificence; but their first simple form of religion, which taught them to adore one Divine Power, Brama, as the universal Creator, and other gods merely as personifications of his various attributes, in the course of time degenerated into idolatry. There appear to have been two great dynasties in what is called India proper, the region north of the Krishna river, excluding the Deccan. One of these fixed its seat at Ayadda, the modern Oude; the other at Delhi, a very extensive and magnificent city, whose site is supposed, from the extent of the ruins still seen around the present city, to have been equal in extent to the space of ground now occupied by London. Here, surrounded by ruins, stands the loftiest column known in the world, a beautiful round tower called the Kuttub Minar, forty feet higher than the great monument in London. It is built in the form of a minaret, of red granite, inlaid with white marble and crowned by a majestic dome.

The two races were respectively designated by the names Solar and Lunar. Two branches of the former, known in Indian history by the names of Pandoos and Kooroos, engaged in a war which, though it proved destructive to both, was of great service in its influence upon the Indian poetry, literature, and art. The downfall of these two races was succeeded, perhaps effected, by the establishment of the dynasty of Magadha, the throne of which was fixed at or near the modern city of Patan. One of these kings was Chandra Gupta, the same with the Sandracottus of the Greeks, a prince celebrated for his extensive conquests. The Braminical hostility was excited by a monarch of Magadha, known by the name of Mahapadma Nanda, who was either a father or a near relation of Chandra Gupta. The mother of the latter, however, was of a very inferior caste, and he may therefore have been an object of the ridicule of Nanda's other sons. Be this as it may, however, it is certain that the power, ambition, cruelty, and avarice of Nanda provoked the Bramins to effect his destruction, and Chandra Gupta was employed as their agent. He was aided in the rebellion by a northern prince, Pawatswara, who was to receive an accession of territory in reward for his services. When Nanda and his family were slain, however, Chandra Gupta and his

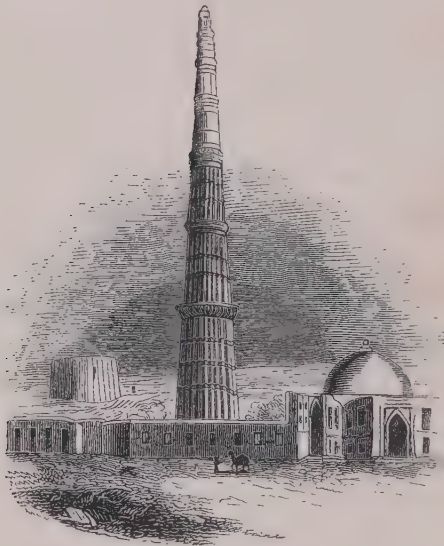
advisers evaded their promise by assassinating Pawatswara. The murdered monarch had a son, called by the Indian histories Malayaketu, who led a host into India to avenge his father's death. Among the names of the nations composing this invading army, we recognise those of some of the Persian provinces. Dissensions dividing the councils of Malayaketu, he retired to his own country, having first made a treaty with Chandra Gupta. The latter thereby acquired additional territory; the invader, who appears to have been none other than Seleucus Nicator, the first of the Seleucidæ, gained several commercial advantages, and the supplies of elephants by which, on the bloody field of Ipsus, he wrested his dominions from the grasp of the ambitious Antigonus.

Chandra Gupta reigned in great glory twenty-four years, and left the kingdom to his son. Vicramaditya, called the Sovereign of all India, is the next celebrated character in the history of that country. His reign, which commenced about half a century before the Christian era, is preceded by a total blank in eastern tradition. He met with extraordinary success until near the close of his life, when he fell before the mighty Shahpoor of Persia, the second monarch of the Sassanian dynasty. The empire of India was made tributary to Persia. From this time until the Mohammedan invasion, India was divided among a great number of petty princes, who were all completely subject to the Bramins. The power of this priesthood, however, did not suffice to prevent opposition from reformers. The Vedas, or books of learning, the bloody sacrifices, and many of the laws of caste, were by them repudiated. The most celebrated of these reformers was Buddha, whose attempt to emancipate his countrymen was made long before Alexander's invasion. He devoted his whole life to instructing the people, and lessening the power of the hierarchy. The religion which he founded prevailed over the greater part of India for many centuries, and did not entirely disappear from the Deccan until the tenth century of our era. Since that time the Braminical system has been in the ascendant; but the religion of the modern Bramins differs very materially from that originally practised by their ancestors. All the sects, however, Bramins and Buddhists, have inculcated the doctrine of transmigration, and therefore interdicted the use of animal food and the destruction of animal life, except for sacrifice.

In the first volume of this work, we had frequent occasion to mention the trade of the Phœnicians and Egyptians with India. Ptolemy Philadelphus, not being very successful in his attempt to connect the Red Sea by a canal with the Mediterranean, built the city of Berenice under the tropic, and made it the great mart of Indian commerce. The goods were thence taken by land and the river Nile to Alexandria. The Persians were no sailors, and therefore carried on their Indian trade exclusively over land. Under the Roman government, the Egyptians made many more advances in navigation. Hippalus, an Egyptian commander, instead of creeping along the coast, stretched boldly across the ocean from the mouth of the Arabian Gulf

to the Malabar coast, favoured on his voyage and return by the regular shifting of the periodical winds or monsoons. This gave a great impulse to the Indian trade, and it was soon followed by the discovery of Ceylon, hitherto unknown. The great increase of the supply of Indian goods thus effected enabled the merchants of Alexandria to supply Europe with spices and aromatics, jewels, silks, and cotton cloths. From this time until the discovery of Vasco de Gama, little change was made in the routes of commercial communication with India. No attempts at colonization were made, and but little was known of the Hindoo manners and customs; yet even that little serves to show that thousands of years have effected no change in their social institutions.*

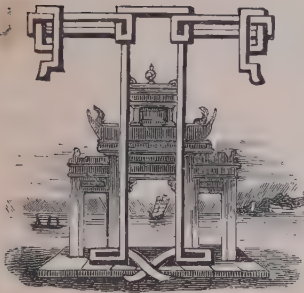
* Taylor. Corner.



THE KUTUB MINAR.



CHAPTER IX.



THE Empire of China seems peculiarly fitted, as well by outward defence as by internal resources, for the isolated position which she holds among the nations of the globe. While the waves of a stormy ocean wash the shores of the east and the south, it is encircled by deserts on the north, and, on the west, separated from the western worlds by chains of lofty mountains.

While continual wars, and repeated invasions, swept away the population and devastated the face of all the other countries of Asia, the forefathers of the three hundred and sixty millions of people now inhabiting China, guided the plough, and raised the sheep and silk-worms which were to supply their simple wants, in almost unbroken peace, secured from foreign invasion by the Himalaya Mountains, and the Tartar hordes beyond them. Commercial intercourse with the rest of the world they needed not; for such was the extent of their empire, and so great the diversity of soil and climate comprehended within its limits, that the products of the north and the south, the mountain and the plain, were all indigenous. Coal, copper, and iron are found in abundance in their snow-capped mountains, whence also originate the great rivers which, rushing from the west to the east, are received by the numberless canals, and distributed over the country. The principal rivers are the Kiang, or River of Rivers, and the Hoang Ho, which, rising near each other in the mountains of Thibet, run by widely diverging courses across China into the Yellow Sea. China also contains five large lakes, whose waters furnish so great a supply of salt, as to afford considerable revenue to the government, which monopolizes the manufacture. Salt is also procured in one district of

China, by boring a narrow shaft to a great depth in the rock. Twenty per cent. of salt, and a portion of nitre, are contained in the water procured from the wells, which also emit an inflammable gas, used by the workmen to evaporate the water, cook their food, and light the factory.

The jealous exclusion of strangers, which has ever been the policy of the rulers of the Celestial Empire, renders it necessary to seek for their history in their own annals, which have been fortunately preserved with a care, only surpassed by that of the ancient Egyptians. The Chou-king, the first of the five sacred books of the Chinese, gives the history of the empire from the reign of Yao, 2357 B. C., to the year 720 B. C. Native annalists, however, date farther back. An emperor named Fou-ki, who had the head of a bull, and the body of a serpent, appeared to the benighted inhabitants of earth, instructed them in the arts of music, astronomy, and writing, introduced the marriage covenant, and taught them how to fortify their towns. Fou-ki was succeeded by Chin-noung, the "divine labourer," who invented the plough, diffused the knowledge of agriculture and botany over the land, exhibited his talents as an author and warrior in a work on the military art, measured the earth's dimensions, and first extracted salt from sea-water. Passing over his immediate successors, we come to Hoang Ti, the Yellow Emperor, with whose accession the annals assume a more authentic aspect.

His accession is dated 2698 years before the Christian era; and it is in the sixty-first year of his reign that the methodical arrangement for computing time by the cycle of 60 years begins. An account of a rebellion which broke out five years previous to this period, is remarkable for the first notice which historians give of the use of the magnet. The Yellow Emperor pursued the rebels, finding his way by a chariot which indicated the south and the cardinal points. This emperor divided the people into classes, and the country into provinces, ten in number. These were again subdivided, each province forming ten departments, each department ten districts, the decimal system being carried to a great extent. Hoang Ti chose yellow for the imperial colour. He is celebrated as an historian, an astronomer, and a conqueror, but above all as the institutor of a system of public education. His empress taught her people to raise silk-worms and manufacture silks.

The hundred years' reign of Hoang Ti was followed by that of his son Chao Hao, who governed his people well in many respects, but suffered them to fall into idolatry. After eighty-four years he was succeeded (B. C. 2513) by his nephew Tchouen Hio, who restored the ancient purity of the religion. In 2435 B. C., Ti Ko, the grandson of Tchouen Hio, ascended the throne. He caused music and some other branches of education to be taught to the people, but by marrying four wives introduced polygamy into China. The son of this emperor succeeded him, but was so wicked and feeble a prince that his subjects dethroned him and made his brother Yao emperor, 2357 B. C. As before noticed, the celebrated book Chou-king commences with

this great and good emperor. Though not so celebrated for magnificent works as many other emperors, the true Chinese delight to recount to their family circles the numberless tales of his benevolence and piety. When he grew old he passed over his son, and selected as his associate in the empire, Yu Chun, a man remarkable for filial obedience. Both these rulers were enabled to show their love for the people on the occasion of a great inundation. At the age of 118 Yao died, and was succeeded by Chun, 2255 B. C. His subjects mourned for him three years, and the same mark of public sorrow is now required by law on the death of the emperor. At his inauguration, Chun "examined the instrument which represented the stars, and the moveable tube which is used to observe them, and regulated the order of the seven planets." As he grew old, Chun determined to associate his servant Yu in the empire; and when, after a reign of fifty years, Chun descended to the tomb, Yu reigned alone.

This sovereign was the first of the Hea dynasty, the first of the twenty-two that have swayed the destinies of China. It furnished eighteen sovereigns, whose united reigns amounted to 439 years. (2205 B. C. to 1766 B. C.) With Yu commenced the practice of choosing a successor to the throne from among the sons of the monarch. He continued the good works begun by his predecessors, and zealously endeavoured to improve his subjects during the six years of his independent sway. When he died, in his hundredth year, his son Ki was chosen by the nobles to succeed him. Tai Kang, the successor of Ki, consulted his own pleasure in preference to the welfare of his subjects; and was, therefore, taken from the throne and exiled. His brother Tchoung Kang was placed on the throne, 2159 B. C. In the history of the reign of this sovereign, an eclipse is recorded; in connexion with which it is related that two astronomers, who through drunkenness and inattention had neglected to give notice of the approaching event, were punished with death. After the death of Tchoung Kang, the sceptre came into the hands of his son Siang. This prince was dethroned by a minister, who was himself assassinated. The second usurper was expelled by the lawful heir, the virtuous Chao Kang. His successors grew gradually wicked, until, in the person of Kie, cruelty and debauchery reached such a height as to cause a revolt. Kie was exiled, and the head of the princely conspirators, Tching Thang, was confirmed as the ruler of the empire. The dynasty which commences with him, takes its name from the small principality of Chang, over which he had before borne sway. It furnished thirty kings, who swayed the destinies of China from 1766 to 1122 B. C., a period of six hundred and forty-four years.

The praises of Tching Thang have been celebrated by the great Chinese moralist, Khoung-tseu (Confucius), in his works. His reputation for wisdom was wide-spread, and the most profound veneration was entertained for him throughout his dominions. In the beginning of his reign, as we learn from the Chinese annals, there occurred a great drought which continued seven

years: this may be supposed to have been contemporary with the seven years' famine which produced the elevation of Joseph in Egypt. The record states that a period was at length put to the calamity by the emperor, whose public prayer and confession of sins was followed by a copious rain. The grandson and successor of this monarch was Tai Kai, who displayed such an early inclination to vicious courses that the minister who was his guardian locked him up, during the three years of mourning, in his father's tomb. This method of correction proved successful, and the prince became a wise and pious monarch. The succeeding rulers of this dynasty present the same variety of characters as those of the first. Among them we bestow a passing notice upon two, Tchoung Ting and Wou Ting. In the reign of the first an inundation of the Hoang Ho caused the seat of the imperial government to be removed from the province of Chensi, and it was finally settled in Tchili, in which Peking is situated. The other sovereign is noted for his piety, and for having selected his minister on account of his resemblance to a man who had appeared to him in a dream as the proper person to fill that important office. The last prince of this dynasty, Cheou Sin, plunged in crime to such an extent that the virtuous Fa, Prince of Tcheou, was called upon by the indignant people to dethrone the tyrant and assume the crown. He complied, and collected an army. The slothful emperor, when threatened with the loss of his throne, showed a degree of talent which, had it been exerted in the proper time and manner, might have secured him the prayers and respect of his people. But it was now too late. His bravery was exhibited in vain to troops who hated him for his vices; they were routed by the insurgents, and he fled to his palace, and made it his own funeral pile. His queen, the partner of his crimes, fled from the burning palace, and endeavoured to ensnare the heart of the conqueror, but he ordered her to be put to death.

The name of Wou Wang, the Warrior King, was applied to Fa, who showed great mercy and wisdom in following up his victory. He exercised universal clemency towards those who had fought against him; but committed an error in rewarding his own partisans and others of the chief men of the empire, by bestowing on them large fiefs. Thus the power of the sovereigns was weakened, and occasion given to ambitious men for frequent wars.

We remark in the history of this dynasty two important facts: one, that the emperors are known by different names after their accession to the throne from those which they had previously borne, but which were not given to them until after their death in the Hall of Ancestors, and which were thus a kind of judgment of posterity; the other, that when corruption was advancing with rapid strides, and the ancient laws were disregarded, there providentially appeared the celebrated philosopher and teacher, Khoung-tseu, or Confucius, whose precepts of morality even at this day regulate both the government and the religion of the state. He was the son of the chief minister at the court of one of the petty kings of China. Studious by nature he forsook the sports



CONFUCIUS INSTRUCTING HIS DISCIPLES.

of youth that he might read the ancient books, and store his mind with the wise maxims they contained. At the age of nineteen he married, but finding that a matrimonial life hindered the progress of his studies, he divorced his wife, and commenced framing a perfect system of government founded on the works of the ancient sages. Being appointed to a public station, he found that the people were in the habit of breaking the laws with impunity, of acting dishonestly towards each other, and were altogether guilty of so many vices, in consequence of the negligence of their rulers, that a complete reformation was necessary throughout the country.

Being desirous of promoting this important change, both by instruction and example, he journeyed through the different states, giving public lectures on the benefit of virtue and social order, which produced such good effects that he was soon at the head of three thousand disciples, converts to his doctrines and practisers of his rules of conduct. But the philosopher, finding that his efforts to reform the court were unsuccessful, resigned his dignities, and devoted himself, with a few friends, entirely to the study of philosophy and the composition of those works which have immortalized his name. We extract from Miss Corner's beautiful work on China, the following account of the Confucian system, which, like Mohammed's Koran, regulates both the councils of state and the fireside circles:

The Confucians believe in one supreme Deity, and adore the earth as the mother of all things; but they have no particular form of worship, nor any

regular priesthood; their religious rites consisting solely of sacrifices, made in the temple on stated occasions, when the emperor officiates as high priest, and the chief mandarins of the court as his subordinates. The books of Confucius, which are studied by the Chinese as sacred volumes, teach them that the true principles of virtue and social order are, obedience to parents, elders, and rulers; and the acting towards others as they would wish that others should act towards them. In the works of this great moralist, the duties of the sovereign are as strictly laid down as those of his subjects; and while they are enjoined to obey him as a father, he is exhorted to take care of them as though they were his children. There was nothing new in this patriarchal system of government, which had existed from the very beginning of the monarchy; but it was brought into a more perfect form, and the mutual obligations of princes and people were more clearly defined, than they had ever been before. But it was not only on the government of the empire collectively that this celebrated teacher bestowed his attention; he also made laws for private families, founded on the same principle of obedience from the younger to the elder, and submission from the inferior to the superior. Indeed, all classes of persons, including even young children, were instructed in the duties of their several stations by this highly gifted individual, who employed all the energies of his mighty mind for the benefit of mankind.

The writings of Confucius are chiefly on the subject of moral philosophy; but there are among them two books which may be considered historical, the one relating to his own, and the other to more ancient times. From the former is gathered all that is known of the state of the country at that period; but the latter is regarded more as traditionary than as historical, as it is supposed to be merely a collection and arrangement of the records kept at the courts of the early monarchs by their historians. This work is entitled the *Chou-king*; and there is another called the *Chi-king*, containing all the ancient poems and songs of the country, which were sung or recited before the emperors. It may, therefore, be imagined that there were bards among the Chinese in those olden times, who celebrated in verse the great and good actions of their heroes and sages. These traditional poems were collected and revised by Confucius, who formed them into a volume, which is still one of the standard works of the Chinese, and must be studied by all who aspire to preferment, as it forms the subject of a part of their examination, before they can be admitted as candidates for any high office. The same great man formed into a code of laws all the ancient observances, both in public and private life; being of opinion that the preservation of order in a state depended much upon the outward forms of society in general. This code, which is called the "*Book of Rites*," entirely regulates and governs the manners and customs of the whole community, from the emperor to the most obscure of his subjects; and as it has maintained its influence to the present time, we may readily account for the little change which has taken

place in the habits of the people. The study of this book constitutes an important branch of the education of every Chinese, and is, in fact, a part of his religion. Confucius died at the age of seventy-three, having spent the whole of his long life in the practice and inculcation of virtue. Nearly twenty-four centuries after his death, his name is held in the highest veneration over all his native country, and many temples are dedicated to his memory in the provinces of China. His descendants, who are very numerous, are the only persons who acquire the dignity of mandarins by inheritance; they are also exempt from taxes, and enjoy other privileges on account of their great ancestor. Confucius has not inaptly been styled the "Apostle of Antiquity," as he sought only to revive the purity of former ages. In this respect, and in the practical nature of his laws, he totally differs from another great philosopher, Lao-tseu, who had appeared a half-century before him. This reformer, who desired equally with Confucius to improve his countrymen, lived in a modest and retired manner, assuming no honours to himself, though many of his disciples regard him as a divinity. He taught his followers to abstract themselves from worldly affairs, and subdue the promptings of the animal nature by religious contemplation and philosophical inaction, that they might be absorbed into the bosom of the Creator, whom he calls Tao, the Supreme Universal Reason.

Of one of the successors of Wou Wang, it is recorded, that he highly prized his horses, which are scarce in China; and he was so pleased with the skill of his hostler that he conferred on him the principality of Thsin. Tartar irruptions afterwards became frequent, particularly about the time of Siouen Wang. (B. C. 790.) Of this prince it is recorded, that he refused to perform the time-honoured ceremony of ploughing and sowing seed in an enclosure set apart for that purpose, on the great annual festival which celebrates the season of spring. This is one of the ancient observances that help to preserve the primitive character of the nation. The day for the royal ploughing is fixed by the Board of Rites, and the ceremony is accompanied by many solemnities on the part of the emperor and those who are to assist him, such as fasts and abstinence from amusements. As a just retribution for the impiety of Siouen Wang, the historians assert that his army was afterwards defeated by barbarians near the very field where he should have ploughed.

His son, Yeou Wang, lost his life by a Tartar irruption, and his grandson, Ping Wang, "the pacific king," was a feeble prince, who removed the court to one of the eastern provinces, and gave the former capital, with the title of king, to the warlike prince of Thsin, a descendant of the fortunate hostler above mentioned. The prince in return bound himself to protect the frontiers from the invaders. This was an unfortunate step for the reigning dynasty. Many opulent families would not remove with the court, but remained under the dominion of the King of Thsin, who, as he already surpassed him in power, immediately began to rival his imperial master in pomp.



THE EMPEROR PLOUGHING.

The Tartar incursions nevertheless continued, and the chiefs of the principalities most exposed strove to fortify their dominions and augment their power. Three of these princes soon added the territories of their less powerful neighbours to their own, but the princes of Thsin eclipsed them all. For a time they suffered the feeble emperors to retain their title; but in 249 B. C., Thsin Chi Hoang Ti, the Augustan emperor of Thsin, dethroned Nan Wang, the last ruler of the race of the mighty Wou Wang. This warlike emperor reduced the whole of the Chinese principalities, and extended the southern and eastern limits of the kingdom to the sea. He protected the frontiers from the Tartars, by an army of three hundred thousand men; and at the cost of immense treasures, and the lives of four hundred thousand of his subjects, built the Great Chinese Wall. This act of tyranny has been cited as a proof of his wisdom, as he thereby kept the discontented among his subjects fully employed. But his superior genius is more fully shown by the form of government which he framed, and which, after a lapse of two thousand years, is still the constitution of the empire.

The author of a new constitution, Hoang Ti aspired to be considered by posterity as the founder of the empire. He therefore ordered all the sacred books—the historical annals—in short, every relic of ancient times, to be destroyed; and death was decreed as the punishment of all who should retain any of them

after the expiration of thirty days. Many suffered death rather than submit to this edict, and imperial power itself could not succeed in blotting out the whole of these loved records. Numerous books were concealed until the storm had blown over, then to be produced and cherished as of greater value than gold. This great monarch died 210 B. C., and his decease was immediately followed by a struggle for the throne, which endured eight years and caused the murder of several emperors.

The Han dynasty is the name given to that founded by Kao Tsou, 202 years before the Christian era. Though it endured 422 years, and is known in Chinese annals as the heroic period, it commenced with rather unfavourable auspices. The new emperor had hardly taken his seat before he was called upon to suppress a revolt of the Hioung Nou, or "turbulent slaves," one of whom blockaded the emperor for seven days, and forced him to purchase a peace by giving the bold rebel a bride from the imperial family. After having quieted these disturbers, Kao Tsou directed his attention to the roads, and effected almost incredible improvements upon them.

His successor, Hoei Ti, "the generous emperor," revoked the decrees of Hoang Ti against the books. After him, came a barbarous and wicked woman, Liu Heou, the first female that swayed the sceptre of China. She was followed by a benevolent monarch, Wen Ti, "the literary," whose active encouragement of literature and the arts caused the invention of paper. Heretofore, slips of bamboo formed the substance used in the manufacture of books. Wen Ti died 156 B. C., and was succeeded by his son King Ti. The glory of this prince is lost in that of Wou Ti, "the warlike," the patron of learning and the friend of the people. After a long struggle, he succeeded in subduing the Hioung Nou, or Huns, the turbulent slaves who troubled Kao Tsou. The attention of this people was soon after directed to the Yue Tchi, the ancient Scythians, who inhabited a country west of the province of Chensi, and who are supposed to have been the same people known in Europe as the Goths. The Hioung Nou, or Huns, failing to make an impression on the Chinese, attacked these Scythians, and drove them from their native land to the fertile and cultivated province of Transoxiana; and accordingly we find Strabo giving an account of their operations there, in his history of the wars of the Parthians and the Scythians. (126 B. C.) The Chinese emperor was apprised of this migration, and to continue it he attacked the Huns and drove them further from his own territories.

Wou Ti gave place to his son Sioueng Ti. (A. D. 65.) This was a wise and able monarch. His successors, however, differed greatly from him in character, and troubles consequently arose. We gladly pass over a long and uninteresting list of succeeding emperors and dynasties to Kao Tsou, who proved himself a friend of the people, and an enemy to pride and pomp. He compelled a hundred thousand monks of the Buddhists and other sects to marry; and, although he was himself a partisan of Lao-tseu, he paid public honours

to Khoung-tseu (Confucius), and instituted schools in every village. His son, the Prince Li-chi-min, was a gallant soldier, who exhibited his prowess by driving a horde of Tartar invaders out of the country. In 626, Kao Tsou abdicated in favour of Li-chi-min, who took the name Tai Tsoung on his accession to the throne. Few of the Chinese monarchs have surpassed him in valour, wisdom, and learning. His palace was converted, as it were, into a college, to which all the learned men of the kingdom resorted. Ten thousand pupils were collected together into an academy in the capital, and the sacred books were multiplied, and scattered throughout the land. He remitted half the taxes, rewarded virtue, and mitigated severe punishments. After the death of this great and good emperor, we find the family to which he belonged running the same downward course which had brought to destruction those which preceded it. His immediate successors were unworthy of the connexion, and those more remote reflect little else than dishonour upon the annals of China. Some of them began to reign well, and reformed abuses; but they soon grew corrupt, and gave the reins to license and disorder. The power of the eunuchs, the "gnawing worms" of the Chinese historians, continually increased, so that in the year 900 they presumed to seize upon the emperor and the empress, and imprison them. Escaping, however, the sovereign made open war upon them. The mandarins actively seconded his efforts; and every eunuch in the empire was put to death save thirty, reserved that they might sweep the courts of the palace.

But the emperor was no sooner rid of this evil than he was threatened by another still more formidable. The general who had been chiefly engaged in the destruction of the eunuchs was rewarded with promotion; but his ambition grew with his power, and he took advantage of a favourable opportunity to dethrone his imperial master. He founded the first of five small dynasties, collectively known in the history of China as the Wou-tai. Cruelty and rebellion, parricide and murder, usurpation and foreign invasion, make up the political annals of the empire during the successive reigns of the monarchs composing these five families.

Tai-Tsou, the first ancestor of the Soung dynasty, mounted the throne (A. D. 960) by election of the nobles, the heir being too young to assume the task of governing a state which the strongest hand could with difficulty keep in order. The new emperor was worthy of the honour conferred upon him. He encouraged learning, and extended his paternal benevolence over the whole realm. He died in 976, and was succeeded by his son Tai Tsoung. Between the date of the accession of this emperor and 1064 A. D., the throne was filled by three emperors, who governed with so great advantage to the people that we can only regret the short continuance of their lives. During all this period the northern Tartars, who had assumed the name of Khitans, continued their devastating wars with the empire. Under the succeeding emperors they gained still greater advantages. Hoi Tsoung, who reigned from 1101 to 1125, im-



TARTAR GENERAL AND HIS TROOPS.

prudently called in the Joutchi Tartars from the eastern provinces to repel the Khitans, and this new branch of foreigners became more formidable than the other. Kao Tsoung (1127 to 1162) was obliged to acknowledge himself a tributary of the Tartar prince, Hi Tsoung, who would probably have conquered all China, had he not lost his life by a revolt of his troops. Continual war followed. The Chinese called upon the western Tartars to repel those of the east; and when these had rescued the rich provinces from the others, they secured them for themselves. Under Khoubilai Khan, a man great by station and by nature, they reduced the whole of China. He was the grandson of the renowned Zingis Khan, who began the conquest of China. Khoubilai Khan is the first of the Tartar monarchs whom the Chinese acknowledge as an emperor. They call him Hou-pi-lie, and Youan Chi Tsou (first imperial ancestor of the Youan dynasty). His character for benevolence,

equity, and piety, gained for him the good will of his new subjects; and by his munificent patronage he attracted to his court learned men and skilful artisans of other nations, among whom we can mention Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveller, who was for three years the governor of a southern province. Khoubilai built the city of Ta-tou, now Peking, and took possession of it in 1267. Secured upon his throne by the affections of his new subjects, Hou-pi-lie extended the bounds of the empire beyond their greatest previous extent. His realm reached from the Arctic Ocean on the north to the Straits of Malacca on the south, and comprehended Tartary, Thibet, and the country of the Oigours. Siam, Cochin China, Tonquin, and the Corea paid him tribute; and his relations, who ruled over Western Asia, did nothing without his consent.

Though the early Tartars introduced many new habits and a new religion into the conquered country, we find their successors soon subdued by the honoured laws, rites, and institutions of civilized China, and bowing in reverence at the feet of Confucius. His books were translated into the Mongul language, and distributed among all the Tartars in the kingdom, who were recommended by the emperor to make themselves acquainted with the precepts they contained. But in the course of time, the emperors degenerated, and they finally came to be heartily detested by the people. Then arose from the lowest ranks a deliverer. A patriot general, who had risen from the labouring class, was proclaimed emperor by his troops; the Chinese flocked in crowds to his standard; and the last Tartar emperor, Chun Ti, finding his cause desperate, retired, with his whole court, into Tartary. (A.D. 1368.) Thus ended the Tartar dynasty.









